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CLAUDE LE LORRAIN.

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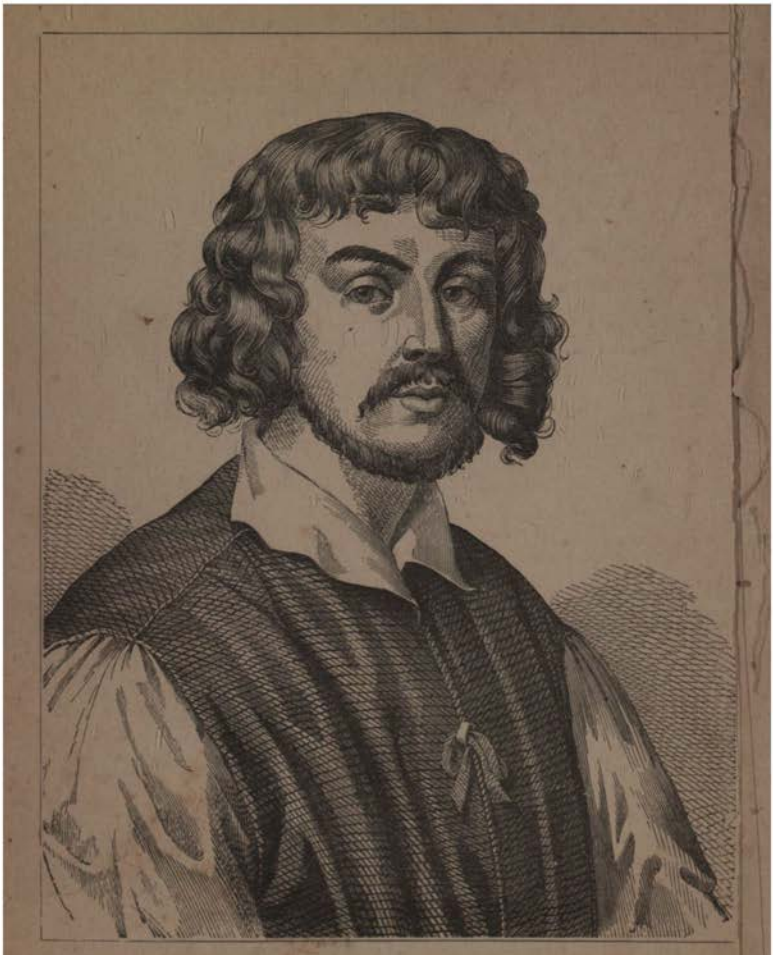
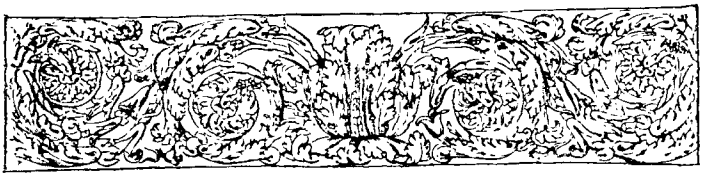


Claude Gellee, le Lorrain.

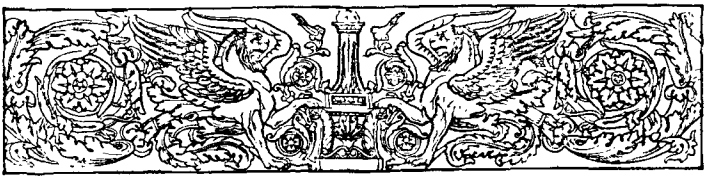


PREFACE.

IN the following pages, I have endeavoured to present a brief yet complete account of Claude and his art from a careful collation of what has been written concerning him up to the present time, including Lady Dilke's exhaustive monograph. I have also included the results of a comparative study of his pictures, drawings, and etchings, together with several grains of information gleaned while writing a series of articles on the lives and works of artists of the French school.

In Appendix A will be found—thanks to Lady Dilke's researches—Claude's will, now first presented in an English guise. His inscriptions on the drawings in the 'Liber Veritatis,' which have not hitherto been published in England, are given in Appendix B, in which, as well as in Appendix C, an attempt has been made to give the latest information as to the whereabouts of his pictures.

O. J. D.



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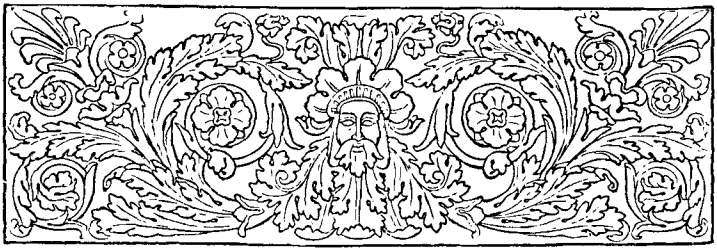


CLAUDE LE LORRAIN.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS.

1600—1625.

CLOSE to the northern boundary of the modern French department of the Vosges, some half mile distant from the right bank of the Moselle, and hard by the Forest of Charmes, is the little village of Chamagne. In this rural hamlet, once the chief place in the seignory of the same name in the old Duchy of Lorraine, Claude Gellée—or to give him the name, Claude le Lorrain, which he received from his native country, although not a sixth part of his long life was spent in it—first saw the light in the year 1600. The exact place of his birth can still be pointed out. Towards the end of the village street, where it approaches the meadows which form the common grazing ground, is an old house which bears on its walls a tablet, commemorating that therein the great landscape painter of the French school drew his first breath. Beyond the fact that his parents, Jean Gellée and Anne Padose, were in humble circumstances, the exact nature of

the rustic occupation which kept the wolf from their door is not known. They had a large family, of whom five were sons: Jean, Dominique, Claude, Denis, and Michel.*

Thus far, the brief accounts of Claude's birth and parentage present no difficulty. Concerning the events of his boyhood and youth, however, his biographers differ considerably. Their information is derived from two sources. One of these is Joachim von Sandrart, a German painter, engraver, and writer on art, who resided some years at Rome, where he became intimate with Claude. His reminiscences of him are contained in his 'Teutsche Academie,' of which a Latin translation, entitled 'Academia nobilissimæ Artis pictoriæ,' was published in 1683. The other authority is Filippo Baldinucci, a Florentine artist, whose account was derived from Jean Gellée and the Abbé Joseph Gellée, the grand-nephew of the painter, and is included in his 'Notizie de' professori del disegno.' He appears also to have been acquainted with the painter himself, who he states showed him the well-known 'Liber Veritatis.'

According to Sandrart, Claude displayed little intelligence as a boy, and when sent to school learned but little—*scientia valde mediocri*, says the German. His parents accordingly apprenticed him to a pastrycook,† and, *teste* De Piles, he served out his apprenticeship. Afterwards, he made his way to Rome with a party of his fellow-countrymen, who were travelling there, to exercise the culinary profession. On his arrival in the Papal city, he had some difficulty in obtaining

* The local records do not yield any information as to the painter's family. The parochial registers of Chamagne are not forthcoming previous to 1672.

† This is the statement contained in Sandrart's original German work of 1675. But there is a curious variation in the Latin edition of 1683. Instead of using the Latin equivalent for pastrycook, *pistori*, the word employed is *pictori*, a painter. It is, however, merely a printer's error, as the Latin context still agrees with the pastrycook account.

employment through his inability to speak Italian. He at length found a situation with Agostino Tassi, a Perugian landscape painter, whose art had been trained in the studio of Paul Bril.

Now turn to the account given by Baldinucci. According to him, when Claude had reached his twelfth year, he had lost both his parents, and was compelled to seek the shelter of his eldest brother's home. Jean had settled at Freiburg in the Swabian country across the Rhine, where he was engaged in wood-engraving and carving. From him, Claude received his first instruction in drawing, and was employed in the design of arabesques and foliage. His stay at Freiburg was not, however, of long duration. About twelve months after his arrival there, a relative, who was making his way to Rome in pursuit of his calling as a lace merchant, took the lad with him.

Arrived in Rome, Claude settled down in humble lodgings near the Pantheon. Profiting by the grounding in art which he had already received, he pursued his studies in the best way he was able, for the lace merchant had left him to his own devices, and the scanty supplies of money which he received from his relatives were scarcely sufficient for his bare subsistance. Even these meagre remittances at length ceased, owing to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, and the difficulty of transmitting money in the disturbed state of Central Europe.

At this juncture, Claude resolved to proceed to Naples before his slender resources were quite exhausted. Here resided a landscape painter named Gottfried Waels, whose fame had reached him at Rome. But little is known about this painter, and what information we possess concerning him is not very reliable. It would appear that he was a native of Cologne who had made his way to Italy, and after studying under Tassi, had settled at Naples. He painted small landscapes in the style of Elsheimer, which have now become very rare.

There is one picture attributed to him in the Doria Gallery at Rome.

Under the guidance of this master, Claude made some progress in architecture, perspective, and the mysteries of colour. With him he remained two years, and then returned to Rome. Here he obtained admission to the house of Agostino Tassi, from whom he received instruction, and, as Baldinucci expressly states, looked after the house-keeping.

On these two accounts of Sandrart and Baldinucci, the biographers of Claude have had to depend for information as to his early life. Some have trusted implicitly to the German, whilst others have placed an equal confidence in the statements of the Italian. His later biographers have taken a middle course, and have endeavoured to evolve the true story of the painter's early years from a comparison and combination of both accounts.

It is not easy to reconcile the statements of the two authorities. The only points which may be taken as certain are those in which Sandrart and Baldinucci agree. First, there is the early death of Claude's parents, and his being left in a comparatively friendless condition. Then there is the fact that by some means he succeeded in reaching Italy, where he eventually became an inmate of Tassi's house.

The statement of Baldinucci as to his having received instruction from his brother, and subsequently from Gottfried Waels, does not absolutely clash with Sandrart, and may be considered as supplying an additional link in the history. But it should not be received with the same degree of confidence as is accorded to the first-named facts. And, further, it is by no means certain whether the stay with Waels should be placed before or after that with Tassi.

As regards the manner in which he reached Rome, it is impossible to reconcile the pastrycook account with that of the

THE SACRIFICE.

From the drawing No. 182 in the "Liber Veritatis."

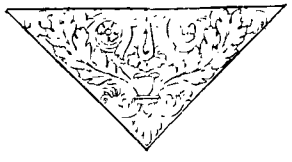
lace merchant. It is to be feared that with the information at present at command, this point must remain an open question.

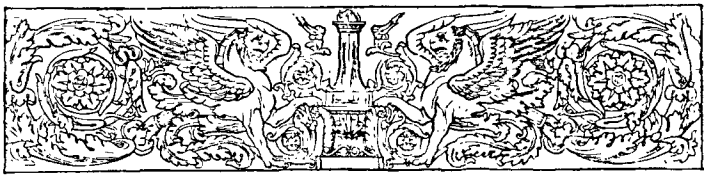
To return to Tassi, who demands some notice from his connection with Claude. As has been already stated, he was a Perugian by birth, and was a pupil and follower of the Flemish painter Paul Bril, who may be regarded as one of the chief pioneers of landscape pure and simple. In some accounts, Tassi is represented as having endured a forced sojourn in the galleys at Leghorn, in expiation of a crime which he had committed in his youth. Although barely remembered in the present day, yet in his own time he enjoyed a high reputation. He had now been some years settled at Rome, where he was patronised by Paul V., who wore the tiara from 1605 to 1621. At the time of Claude's entry into the painter's service, Sandrart states that Tassi was engaged for the Pope on a series of works for the decoration of the hall set apart for the meeting of the conclave. This must have been before 1619, as a deposition made by Tassi in that year has recently been discovered in the 'Criminal Archives' at Rome, in which he describes "Claudio di Lorena" as one of his assistants in some decorative works on which he was then engaged for the Cardinal Montalto at Bagnaia near Viterbo.

Next, as to the character of the relationship between them. According to Sandrart, Claude's functions in Tassi's establishment were of a humble and miscellaneous character. In the house, he looked after the kitchen and other domestic affairs; in the stable, he groomed the horse; whilst in the studio he ground the colours and cleaned the palettes and brushes. From this account, it is evident that his position must have been entirely one of dependence. And this view is corroborated by the significant admission of Baldinucci that he was the paymaster of the household.

But that Claude had artistic relations with Tassi, besides

these domestic functions, there is no room to doubt. Baldinucci states that Tassi, during his stay with him, instructed and communicated to him the best principles of art. And this is borne out by Sandrart, who states that in the intervals of Claude's household duties, his master—whom he describes as a good-natured man, notwithstanding his sufferings from the gout—assisted him in his endeavours to master the principles of perspective and drawing. A further confirmation is supplied by the deposition already referred to, where Tassi expressly describes him as one of his assistants on the decorative works on which he was then engaged.





CHAPTER II.

WANDERINGS.

1625—1627.

SANDRART makes no mention of the length of time during which Claude was an inmate of Tassi's house. Baldinucci states that he was with him till he was twenty-five years of age, and that in April 1625 he *left* Rome, and commenced a series of wanderings. These lasted over two years, and for an account of them we have to trust to the Italian writer, as the German passes them over in complete silence. There are, however, certain details not mentioned by Baldinucci, which have been introduced by subsequent writers. They are included here for what they may be worth, but their truth is very doubtful.

Claude's motive in undertaking the journey is not known. Whether it was simply the desire of change, or the wish to see his relatives and his native place again, or the hope of obtaining more profitable employment, cannot now be determined. On quitting Rome, his steps led him across the Apennines towards the Adriatic coast of the Peninsula. His first halt was at the "Casa Santa," or Holy House, of Loretto. Here he paused awhile, and then continued his journey northward through Romagna and the Venetian territories.

At Venice, he is said to have made some stay, and to have painted a few pictures. They cannot now be traced: one of them may perhaps be that engraved in J. B. P. Lebrun's 'Recueil de Gravures.' It represents Venice and the Lagune, dotted with its numerous islands, as seen from Mestre, where the railway now crosses from the mainland on a long row of arches.

There was much in the city of the Doges which would commend itself strongly to his imagination. The stately palaces,

> "Still glowing with the richest hues of art,
> As though the wealth within them had run o'er,"

the quays and terraces washed by the gentle ripples of the waveless sea, the harbour busy with groups lading and unlading vessels engaged in the commerce of the Republic: all these are reflected in the sea-ports, refulgent with the sun's rays, which he reproduced so often, and which constitute one of his chief claims to fame.

On leaving Venice, Claude chose to prolong his journey to his native country by passing through Germany, instead of taking the direct route through the Milanese territories. Threading his way across the Tyrolese Alps to Innspruck, he descended into Bavaria. It is interesting to note, in contrast to Venice, how foreign to the bent of his genius was the wild and rugged mountain scenery through which he passed in his journey from Italy to the valley of the Isar. His route lay

> "Mid savage rocks, and seas of snow that shine,
> Between interminable tracts of pine,"

and he must have frequently passed the perilous spots where the hardy mountaineers

> "Cross the chasmy torrent's foam-lit bed
> Rocked on the dizzy larch's narrow tread."

The sight of these sterner aspects of nature did not strike a

responsive chord in his artistic nature. No traces of impressions received during his Tyrolese journey can be found in any of his pictures or sketches.

But to resume. Claude's passage through Bavaria has been enlarged by some of the biographers already referred to into a sojourn of considerable duration. He is said to have stayed at Harlaching, a village in the neighbourhood of Munich, and to have painted some pictures. There is also a tradition that the little castle of Harlaching, which was destroyed in the wars of the French Revolution, owed something of its design to his inspiration. The authenticity of these accounts is very doubtful. They appear to have been built upon the slenderest foundation of fact.

To commemorate this, possibly fabulous, sojourn in Bavaria, a memorial was erected by King Louis I. It is a simple upright monument, bearing a portrait of the painter, and an inscription recording the sojourn. The inaugural ceremonies took place on the 3rd June, 1865. On the morning of that day a concourse of artists, whom the event had called together, met and marched in procession to Harlaching. After some part-music by Mendelssohn had been sung, the monument was uncovered, and a laudatory speech made by the painter Anton Teichlein. The day concluded with various emblematic festivities, in which the pageant-loving king took part.

On quitting Bavaria, the wanderer turned his footsteps westward, and made his way through Swabia and the pines of the Black Forest. Crossing the Rhine, he threaded the defiles of the Vosges mountains, and thus, after an absence of about twelve years, reached his native village. During the latter part of the journey, he is said to have fallen ill, and, while prostrate on a bed of sickness, to have been robbed of all his belongings. This, again, is an incident to which great credence should not be attached.

Claude does not appear to have made any considerable stay in Chamagne. After so long an absence, there was probably little to induce him to remain. He would, moreover, find but small scope for the practice of art in the secluded village on the banks of the Moselle. He accordingly set out for Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, where the reigning Duke held his court, a court renowned for its luxury and patronage of the fine arts. M. Emile Michel mentions a plan of the city of Nancy, published in 1611, which gives a goodly list of the art-workers—painters, sculptors, architects, jewellers, embroiderers, &c.—who then followed their profession there. In such a centre of taste, Claude doubtless felt secure of obtaining employment, and he had, moreover, a relative residing there. From him, he received an introduction to Claude Deruet, the chief figure in the art-world of Lorraine at this time.

According to Meaume,* Claude Deruet was one of the best painters Lorraine produced. Born in 1588, probably at Nancy, he went to Rome at an early age, and studied under Tempesta and Josepin. On his return to his native country in 1619, he quickly rose to great honour. He was appointed painter-in-ordinary to Duke Henri II., from whom in 1621 he received letters of nobility. Besides the favour of his sovereign, he enjoyed that of the Prince of Phalsbourg, an illegitimate scion of the great Guise family. Deruet lived in great style, and had, according to Felibien, the retinue and equipage of a *grand seigneur*. He boasted of two establishments, his country house and his town house at Nancy. To this important personage, who assumed an absolute authority in all matters relating to art at the Ducal court, Claude presented himself. His application was successful, and the great man was pleased to give him

* 'Recherches sur la vie et les ouvrages de Claude Deruet,' par M. E. Meaume. 1854.

employment amongst his assistants, several of whom it is stated were natives of Italy.

In parenthesis, it may be mentioned, that the most important work of Deruet which is extant is a series of pictures, emblematic of the Four Elements, now in the Museum at Orleans. The landscapes in these compositions were for some time attributed to Claude, but a careful examination of their style, and of the internal evidence as to the date when they were painted, has led to the conclusion that he could have had no share in their execution.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, a monastery of the Carmelite order had been founded at Nancy by the grand-nephew of Calvin. His successor as prior, Sebastien de St. François, commenced erecting the church of the community in 1615. On its completion, Deruet undertook to decorate the roof, at the request of the prior and the Prince of Phalsbourg. In this work he was aided by Claude and his other Italian assistants. It is to be regretted that it can no longer be examined. It perished at the Revolution, the church having been destroyed in 1793. A full description of the decorations has, however, been preserved,* from which it appears that their leading theme was the history of the Virgin. The chief events depicted were: the *Annunciation*, the *Marriage of the Virgin*, the *Birth of our Lord*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Death and Burial of the Virgin*, and the *Assumption*. According to this account, it seems that in several important parts of the work, there were portions ranked amongst the best in the whole composition, which were considered due to Deruet's assistants. Perchance, if the church had escaped the iconoclastic fury of the Revolution, some of Claude's work might have even now been distinguishable.

In this undertaking, Baldinucci states that Claude was

* Lionnois: 'Histoire de Nancy.'

employed in painting the landscapes and architectural accessories. But after a year of this work, and before the completion of the decorations, he grew tired of his task. This is attributed to two causes. First, it would appear that a change had been made in his original understanding with Deruet. According to agreement, Claude was to be employed in figure painting, and it was on such work that he was at first engaged. But from some cause—probably from his want of skill in that branch of art—he was relegated to the architecture and backgrounds.

The second cause was that the dangers of painting on a scaffold were vividly brought before him by an accident which happened to a gilder, who was also engaged on the decorations. Through a false step, the man fell from the platform on which he was working, and would have been dashed on the pavement below, but for the fortunate interposition of a beam to which he clung. Claude hastened to his help, and by his timely succour, the man's life was saved.

Quitting, therefore, the uncongenial service of Deruet, he left Nancy and his native country, which he was destined never to see again, and sought once more the classic shores of Italy. He set out on his return journey in the summer of 1627. Anxious to reach his destination, he did not take the circuitous route by which he came, but chose the most direct course. With his face turned south, he made for Lyons, where he halted for a few days. Then journeying down the Rhone, and passing through Provence, he reached Marseilles, whence he intended at once to embark for Italy. But his intention was frustrated, for he was laid low by a dangerous fever, and for some time the symptoms were very serious. And this was not his only trouble, for while he was in this helpless condition, he had the misfortune to be once more plundered and left in a state bordering on destitution. With returning health, his courage quickly revived, and he is said to have spent his last coin in merry-making

Page 14.

THE LANDING OF ÆNEAS IN ITALY.

From the drawing No.122 in the "Liber Veritatis."

with some congenial spirits in whose company he chanced to fall.

But it was necessary to procure the means to continue his journey, and he obtained an introduction to a wealthy merchant, from whom he received a commission to paint two pictures. On their completion, the local Mæcenas was so pleased that he wished to obtain other specimens of Claude's work. But he could not induce the young Lorrainer to accede to his request. He was anxious, now that he had replenished his purse, to lose no further time in reaching his destination, and accordingly embarked on the first ship which sailed for the Roman coast.

These details of the return journey are very doubtful. Baldinucci only states that on leaving Nancy he passed through Lyons and Marseilles. The illness, the second robbery, the bout of dissipation, and the Marseilles patron are all due to later biographers.

During the voyage to Civita Vecchia, Claude enjoyed congenial companionship. Amongst his fellow-travellers was the elder Charles Errard of Nantes, who, through the influence of Marie de Medicis, had been appointed painter-in-ordinary to Louis XIII. He was accompanied by his two sons, whom he was taking to Rome to complete their art studies. The elder son, who bore the same name as his father, passed much of his life—this his first visit lasted sixteen years—at Rome, where he probably came frequently into contact with Claude. He occupies a place of some importance in the history of French art. As one of the twelve original members of the French Academy, he would be entitled to remembrance. But he has a greater claim to have his name preserved from oblivion. It was owing to his influence that the French school at Rome, through which most of the great French painters have passed, was founded by Colbert. He was its first Director, and held office from 1666 to 1683.

The travellers were fated to endure much anxiety before they reached their destination. Their ship encountered a succession of storms, and at one time the gale rose to such a height that it seemed doubtful whether they would reach land. After much tossing and buffeting, the vessel sighted the towers and fortifications of Civita Vecchia, and cast anchor within the welcome shelter of Trajan's harbour. At length, on St. Luke's Day, the 18th October, 1627, Claude's wanderings came to an end, and he once more found himself within the walls of Rome.

The painter's sketches afford reminiscences and a corroboration of the latter part of these wanderings. In the former Wellesley collection was a sketch in which he has roughly delineated with pen and ink—but still with sufficient accuracy to be recognised—the old port of Marseilles. There are also two other sketches, taken apparently while in the lazaretto of Civita Vecchia, which Lady Dilke thinks must have been executed about the same time. They are on the same kind of paper as the Marseilles sketch, and seem to have originally formed part of the same sketch book.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROAD TO FAME.

1627—1639.

THE years which followed Claude's settlement at Rome were a period of close and unwearying study. Hitherto, though he had obtained an insight into the *technique* and principles of art, his progress had been but small. He now devoted himself to a direct and independent study of nature in all her manifold aspects. To her he owed the inspiration which gradually brought about his artistic development, and enabled him to attain that individuality which a mere study of the method and works of any master, however great, would never have effected. His friend and biographer, Sandrart, has bequeathed to us full and interesting details of his mode of working.

Sandrart was a native of Frankfort, and was some six years the junior of the Lorrainer. He had received instruction from several masters in succession, the most notable of whom was Gerard Honthorst, in whose studio in Utrecht he spent some time. To complete his art-training, he made the journey to Italy; and in 1627 is found at Venice, studying the great Venetian masters of colour. Thence, after a sojourn at Bologna and Florence, he went to Rome. Soon after his arrival, he

became acquainted with Claude, of whom he says in his 'Academia,'—"He applied himself with much zeal and great diligence to grasp the true principles of art. In order that he might be able to study closely the innermost secrets of nature, he used to linger in the open air from before daybreak even to nightfall, so that he might learn to depict with a scrupulous adherence to nature's model the changing phases of dawn, the rising and setting sun, as well as the hours of twilight. When he had in this manner well considered his subject in the open air, he forthwith mixed his colours according to the tints before him, and then returning home, applied them to the work which he had in hand, with greater truth than any one had done before him. In this most difficult and toilsome mode of study he spent many years; making excursions into the country every day, and returning even after a long journey without finding it irksome. Sometimes I have chanced to meet him amongst the steepest cliffs at Tivoli, handling the brush before those well-known waterfalls,* and painting the actual scene, not by the aid of imagination or invention, but according to the very objects which nature placed before him. This mode of working so much commended itself to him, that he always adhered to the same course." The painter's will bears out the importance attached by him to this actual painting from nature. Two of his pictures which he bequeaths are expressly characterised as "painted from nature," and "executed in the country."

In another part of the 'Academia' Sandrart speaks of Claude seeking the most retired spots so that he might practise drawing from nature. In this branch of art he describes him as having naturally but little aptitude, whereas in the use of colours he had a great facility. He says that they used to paint from

* Several of Claude's sketches of these falls are in existence. One, dated 1635, is now in the British Museum. It is engraved in Lewis, Part I. No. 20.

THE CAMPO VACCINO.

From the drawing No.10 in the "Liber Veritatis."

nature on duly prepared cardboard or on canvas (the outlines and the shadows having been previously indicated with black chalk or pencil), the mountains, the caves, the valleys, the Campagna, the falls of the Tiber, the Temple of the Sibyl, and such-like subjects. He further mentions the sunny country about Tivoli, Frascati, Subiaco, and St. Benedetto as their favourite sketching-grounds.

Even without Sandrart's reminiscences, Claude's favourite haunts could with little difficulty be discovered from his pictures. A few of his canvases exhibit fairly complete transcriptions of single scenes, such as the Campo Vaccino, the heights of Tivoli, Castel Gandolfo, or the Ponte Mola. In others, the landscape has been idealised to a greater or less degree, but still preserves recognisable features. In the majority of his pictures, however, he has grouped fragments of various scenes, in which such subjects as the Coliseum, the arches of Constantine and of Septimus Severus, the temples of Vesta and of the Sibyl, the reaches of the Tiber, the rocky Teverone, the Alban hills, the grotto of Posilipo, and the distant islands of Ischia and Capri, frequently recur. Speaking of Claude's compositions, Samuel Palmer, the English painter and etcher, says,—"When I was setting out for Italy I expected to see Claude's magical combinations: miles apart I found the disjointed members, some of them most lovely, which he had 'suited to the desires of his mind'; there were the beauties, but the beautiful, the ideal Helen, was his own." His sketches, again, afford much information as to the spots frequented by him in his excursions, and he has in many cases inscribed them with the name of the actual locality where they were taken.

Claude has sometimes been represented as the pupil of Sandrart, by whom it is stated that he was taught to draw from nature. That he may have been influenced by his friend,

slightly though it must have been, or have obtained some hints from him, is quite possible. But that the relation of master and pupil existed between them cannot be maintained. To begin with, the German was still quite young, and six years the junior of the Lorrainer. Further, from Sandrart's own account, it would rather appear that instead of Claude drawing any inspiration from him, each sought from nature that which recommended itself most to his own particular bent. Thus the German drew strange-looking rocks, trunks of trees, waterfalls, great buildings and masses of ruins, which seemed to him the most fitting adjuncts for historical pictures. Claude, on the other hand, preferred to study distant effects, and in the representation of these his biographer acknowledges that he attained a wonderful power.

Sandrart also mentions Claude's weakness in drawing men and animals. He states that he bestowed great labour, though unavailingly, to improve himself in this branch of art, and practised for many years in the Academy at Rome in drawing from the life and from the statues. Even to his latest days, he worked at drawing the figure, though with what little success his sketches of *Eliezer and Rebecca*, in the British Museum, dated 1675, and of the *Meeting of Dido and Æneas*, at Windsor Castle, dated 1680, painfully show. But he was fully aware of this shortcoming, for he used modestly to say that he sold his landscapes but gave the figures. Later on in his career, when his circumstances were more prosperous, he secured the aid of other artists, of whom more anon, to supply his deficiencies in this respect.

The intimacy between the two painters led them to exchange specimens of each other's art. Sandrart naïvely says that he received Claude's small landscapes and Claude his large ones. Amongst others, Claude gave him one of his well-known sunrises, showing the sun piercing and dispelling the morning

mists. The German launches out into a verbosely laudatory account of this picture. But he did not allow any sentimental feelings concerning it to stand in the way of his pocket; for he gleefully states that he sold it to an amateur who was about to depart for Amsterdam, and who willingly paid five hundred florins for it.

Sandrart's account of Claude is the only record there is of his having been on terms of any great intimacy with his artistic brethren. The chief figure amongst the French artists then residing at Rome was Nicolas Poussin, and it might be thought that there would be many traces of intimacy between these fellow-countrymen, whose pursuit of the beautiful had so much in common. Such is not the case. That Claude was acquainted with Poussin there is no doubt, for Sandrart states that he, François du Quesnoy, and Claude were sometimes joined by the painter of Andelys, during the early portion of his career, in the discussion of subjects of mutual interest. And in another part of the 'Academia' there is an account of a sketching expedition to Tivoli, which included Claude and Poussin. Beyond these statements, there is no further mention of the two painters in connection with each other, and it may be reasonably inferred that they did not live on terms of any great intimacy. This view is confirmed by the fact that Claude's name does not occur in the numerous letters which have been preserved of Poussin to his patrons and friends.

There is a similar scantiness, and sometimes an absolute lack of information, concerning Claude in the lives of other contemporary artists, even in the accounts of those with whom he would most probably have been on friendly terms. This silence leads to the conclusion that his life must have been one of seclusion, and the inference is confirmed by the evidence of Sandrart, who expressly states that in everyday life he did not much affect the civilities of polite society. That this was

not caused by any churlishness of nature, the German is careful to intimate, for he adds that he was kind and sincere, and sought no other pleasure than that which arose from his art. This is corroborated by De Piles, who says that he was so absorbed in his work that he never visited any one.

With this testimony, the absence of Claude's name from contemporary artistic biography is not surprising. Further, when his laborious and indefatigable mode of work, involving frequent and protracted absences from home, is considered, it will be evident that he could have had but little spare time to cultivate intimate friendly relations with his fellow-artists.

There is, however, one glimpse of Claude during this early part of his career to be found in the life of a contemporary artist. This is his fellow-countryman Sebastien Bourdon, who has been aptly called by Blanc the Wandering Jew of painting. Although only eighteen years of age, he was no novice in the struggle of life. His last adventure had been to enlist as a soldier. He was soon tired of military service, and through the friendship of the officer under whom he served, obtained his discharge. He then made his way to Rome, where he arrived about 1634, and supported himself by his singular facility of copying the works of other artists. One day, he paid a visit to Claude, who showed him a landscape which he had had in hand for a fortnight, and which would take about the same time to finish. Forthwith, Bourdon returned home, and in eight days produced such a copy that it was hailed as the best work which had emanated from Claude's studio. He, hearing that this work was exactly similar to the original picture, which still stood on the easel, had the curiosity to go and see it, and, according to Guillet de Saint Georges, was so enraged at the deception which had been practised that he would have proceeded to extreme measures had not the copyist evaded his wrath.

In 1635, Claude lost the companionship of Sandrart, who set out on his return to his native country. About this time, he induced one of his nephews to migrate from Lorraine to take charge of his bachelor household, and to superintend all the affairs of the *ménage*. Whether it was a sense of isolation at the loss of his most intimate friend, or whether it was a desire to be rid of domestic cares which actuated him, cannot now be determined. Anyway, the arrangement, *teste* Sandrart, secured in a marked degree the interest and convenience of both parties. On the one hand, Claude was enabled to enjoy a freedom from petty cares, and to devote himself undisturbedly to artistic pursuits; on the other hand, his relative secured a comfortable home, and was led to consider himself as occupying a foremost position amongst the painter's heirs. So entirely was Claude relieved of all domestic burdens, that to his nephew was entrusted the purchase even of the colours and other materials required for the studio.

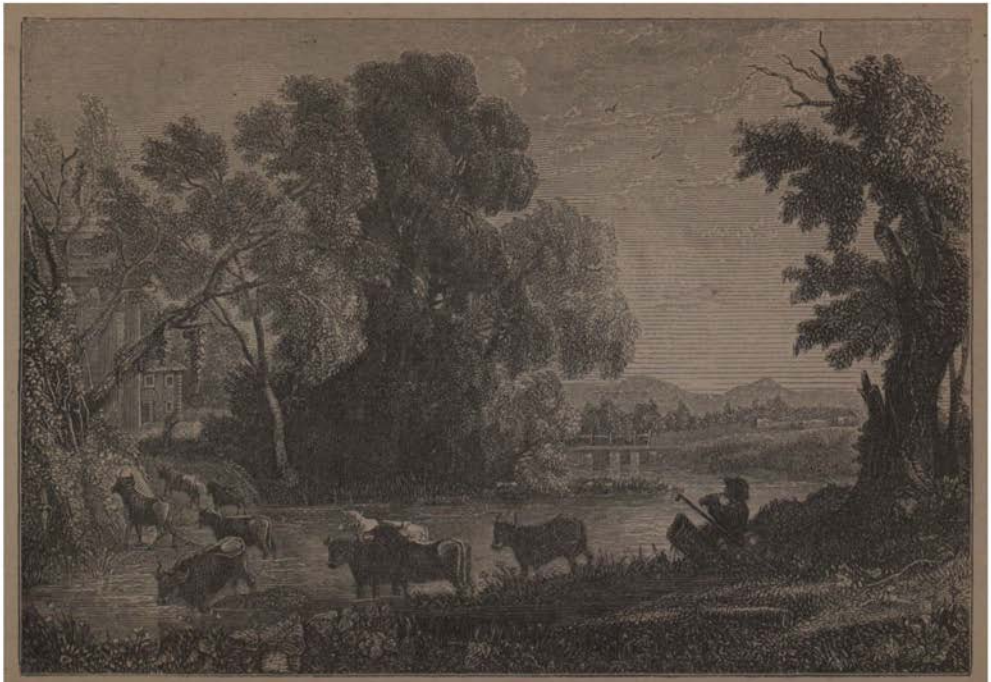
Thus much for the personal side of this part of the painter's career. His art now claims attention. Baldinucci mentions three important works of a decorative character which he executed soon after his return to Rome. The accident at the Carmelite church at Nancy had inspired him with a dislike to mural painting, or to any work involving the use of scaffolding. But doubtless at this period the state of his pocket would not admit of his being over particular as to the nature of work which offered itself. One of these mural paintings was at the house of the Muti, near Sta. Trinità de' Monti; the second was at the Palace of Cardinal Crescenzio, near the Pantheon. This was not the only commission he received from the latter family. There is a record of a picture, a *Riposo* (L. v. 88) painted by him for Count Crescenzio, which is now the property of the Duke of Devonshire.

The third, and apparently most important, of the decorative

commissions named by Baldinucci was at the Palazzo Muti, in the Piazza SS. Apostoli, a building of considerable interest to Englishmen, as it was here in after years that the young Pretender lived and died. This work is also mentioned by Sandrart, who gives a detailed and glowing description of it. It appears that in one of these frescoes Claude painted a large wood, in which he introduced various species of trees. He assigned to each the trunk, leaves, and colour peculiar to it with such exactitude and truth that, according to his biographer, they seemed to rustle with the motion of the breeze. Lady Dilke is of opinion that this work is still in existence, though she was not able to see it. She was informed of certain mural paintings in the Palazzo Muti, ascribed to N. Poussin, which bore a strong resemblance in many details, as communicated to her, to the account given by Sandrart of Claude's work.

As has been already said, it would appear probable that these decorations were executed soon after his settlement in Rome. But his earliest dated productions are his etchings. As an etcher, Claude is not equal, and it should be observed that he did not practise in this medium regularly or continuously. His reputation is dependent on a few of his plates. These, indeed, take rank amongst the finest productions of any master of etching. They show that his mastery of light and aërial effect was not "cabined, cribbed, confined," when limited to the black and white of the etcher.

Lady Dilke is of opinion that Claude's earliest attempts in etching must be dated back as early as 1628, and she considers it probable that he caught the inspiration from Callot, who was at Nancy contemporaneously with him, and was then engaged on his great etched work, the *Siege of Breda*. Another source of influence she thinks may have been Sandrart, who had already won a reputation as an engraver, and was engaged in that capacity during his stay at Rome by the Marquis Giustiniani.



THE HERDSMAN.

From the etching, No. 8, Appendix D.

Be this as it may, the earliest date which appears on Claude's etchings is 1630. The work which is thus dated is *The Tempest* (Appendix D, No. 5). It is remarkable as one of the very few examples in any medium in which he has chosen to portray the sea under the influence of a storm. Either from a knowledge that his strength did not lie in this direction, or from his innate love of serene and peaceful scenes, his efforts in the representation of the sterner side of nature may be counted on the fingers of the hands. The execution of *The Sketcher* (Appendix D, No. 9) has many characteristics in common with that of *The Tempest*. Though undated, it may be referred to the same period.

These early years of his career appear to have been the time when Claude most assiduously devoted himself to the practice of etching. There are more than forty of his plates extant. Of these, five-sixths must be assigned to this period, and it is not surprising to find that his powers rapidly matured. This is very noticeable in the works dated 1634. One plate is a pastoral subject, *Crossing the Ford* (Appendix D, No. 3). Another, a composition which did frequent service in after years, is a marine view, introducing the favourite classical fable of the Rape of Europa (Appendix D, No. 22). The third and finest is a seaport, known as *The Sun Rising* (Appendix D, No. 15). This subject he repeated in several pictures, one of which is now in the Munich Pinakothek, and another at the St. Petersburg Hermitage. On one side of the etching is a stately triumphal arch, shaded by trees, beyond which rises a succession of towers and battlements, terminated in the distance by a hilly coast; on the opposite side is a detached tower, near which the glowing orb of day pours a flood of dazzling light on the surface of the water. One of the greatest modern authorities on etching* considers the sky in this work, by reason of its

* Hamerton, 'Etching and Etchers.'

marvellous tenderness, to be the finest ever etched. He would always adduce it as a sufficient refutation of the fallacy that the sky cannot be represented by the etcher's art.

In 1636 was produced the well-known etching styled *The Herdsman* (Appendix D, No. 8), another of the favourite subjects which the painter reproduced in several pictures, one of which is now in the Munich Pinakothek. Concerning this delightful rustic idyll, perfect in its kind as any of the pastoral effusions of Virgil, the critic already quoted says: "For technical quality of a certain delicate kind, this is the finest landscape etching in the world. Its transparency and gradation have never been surpassed." Dr. Willshire * is unstinting in his praise, and places it in the same rank of excellence as Dürer's *Adam and Eve*, Lucas Van Leyden's *David playing before Saul*, Rembrandt's *Christ healing the Sick*, and other masterpieces.

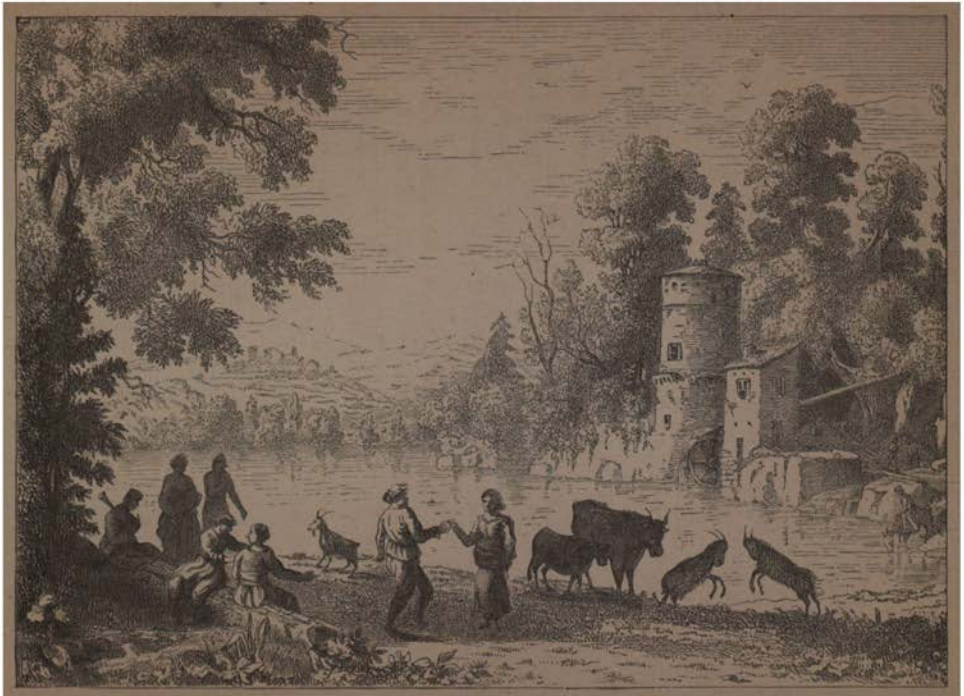
The *Dance by the River side* (Appendix D, No. 6), of which a reproduction is here given, was probably executed about this period.

There is yet another etching, produced in the same year as *The Herdsman*, which claims attention. It is a view of the *Campo Vaccino* (Appendix D, No. 23) as seen from the Capitoline Hill, facing the Arch of Titus.

> "In many a heap the ground
> Heaves, as if Ruin in a frantic mood
> Had done his utmost. Here and there appears,
> As left to show his handy-work, not ours,
> An idle column, a half-buried arch,
> A wall of some great temple.—It was once,
> And long, the centre of the Universe,
> The FORUM—whence a mandate, eagle-winged,
> Went to the ends of the earth."

This is another of the subjects which Claude repeated several

* Willshire, W. H., Introduction to the 'Study and Collection of Ancient Prints.'



DANCE BY THE RIVER SIDE.

From the etching, No. 6, Appendix D.

times. One of these repetitions—though whether it preceded or succeeded the etching is an open question—was a picture (L. v. 10) painted for Philippe de Béthune, Count of Selles and Charost, then ambassador of France at the Papal Court.

This French noble was a young brother of the great Sully, and had fought by the side of Henri IV. in the wars of the League. He had subsequently turned his attention to diplomacy, and had represented his country in various embassies, with such success that he was esteemed one of the ablest diplomatists of his time. As a proof of his influence, the reconciliation of Louis XIII. with the Queen-Mother, Marie de Medicis, was chiefly attributed to his mediation. He had now been accredited to the Curia for a second time since 1627, and had lately successfully negotiated a treaty which arrayed France, Venice, and the Pope against Spain and the House of Austria.

This old soldier-diplomatist had considerable artistic tastes, and took advantage of his stay at Rome to form a collection of pictures by the Italian masters. Claude also executed for him one of the Seaports (L. v. 9), illumined by the rays of the sun, which have contributed to render his name famous. On one side is the usual arch, bearing on its tympanum the classic "S. P. Q. R.," beyond which rises a succession of palaces, and

> "Many a stately portico,
> The statues ranged along an azure sky."

The foreground is animated with busy groups of figures, some drinking the parting cup, preparatory to embarking on vessels flying the French flag hauled close inshore, and others chaffering for the pottery which is strewn on the strand. Both this work and the *Campo Vaccino* picture are now in the Louvre.

In 1637, Claude's etching needle was actively employed. In that year the Emperor Ferdinand II. died. To commemorate the accession of his son Ferdinand III. to the titular dignity of King of the Romans, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, the Marquis

Castel Rodrigo, organised a series of festivities which lasted five days in the month of February. They commenced with a Te Deum sung in the German national church of S. Maria dell' Anima, in the presence of a crowd of princes and grandees. The rejoicings were not, however, confined to solemnities for the delectation of dignitaries, but included amusements for the Roman populace. On the evening of the first day, there were fireworks exhibiting allegorical devices congenial to the spirit of the age. The chief of these represented a great figure of Atlas supporting the globe, which was surmounted by the double-headed imperial eagle. The globe then opened, and amidst much sparkle and glitter disclosed a starry sphere within. On the second day, a company of Spanish comedians, which had been expressly brought from Naples, acted a comedy and some ballets on a stage erected for the purpose in the Piazza. There was music, followed by fireworks, on the next day; and on Wednesday there was another Spanish comedy, and a plentiful expenditure of gunpowder. The last day of the festivities was the following Sunday. For the fireworks on that evening, two great set pieces were erected on the Piazza. One of these was a fortress, emblematic of the Kingdom of Castille, flanked by emblems of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America at the four angles. The other erection represented Neptune seated in a chariot drawn by various marine monsters.

To commemorate these festivities, Claude produced a series of etchings showing the various phases of the fireworks. These plates have proved a fruitful subject of inquiry to his biographers, and to print-collectors. From the latest researches, it seems that they were published at Rome in at least two*

* There is a third work containing a description of the festivities, but it is not clear whether it was accompanied by Claude's etchings. It is entitled :—

'Relatione delle feste fatte dall Eccellentissimo signore Marchese di

collected forms, varying, however, in the number of plates which they contained. One of them is accompanied by a description written in Spanish verse of twelve syllables, and has the following title :—

'Descripcion de las fiestas que el Sr. Marques de Castel Rodrigo Embaxador de España celebró en esta corte ala nueva del election de Ferdinando III de Austria, Rey de Romanos, Hecha por MIGUEL BERMUDEZ de Castro. En Roma por Francisco Caballo M.DC.XXXVII con licencia de los superiores.'

The second collection is an Italian edition, and is entitled :—

'Relazione delle feste fatte in Roma per l'elettione del Re dei Romani in persona di .Ferdinando III scritta al Sereniss. et Reverendiss. sig. il sig. Card. de Medici. In Roma appresso Lodovico Grignani M.DC.XXXVII, con licenza de' superiori.'

These works have now become very rare, owing to their having been cut up for the sake of the etchings, which are met with separately. The British Museum and the Bibliothèque National at Paris each possess a copy, though without letterpress. M. Dutuit is the fortunate possessor of an example of the Spanish edition, which formerly belonged to Pope Urban VIII., and bears his arms on the cover.

Now approaches what may be considered a turning-point in Claude's career. Since he had settled at Rome, the close study of nature in which he had been diligently engaged had resulted in widening and deepening the scope of his art. His works had gradually met with purchasers, and had begun to command good prices, witness the sale of the picture exchanged by him with his canny German friend. The Bourdon episode is a further testimony to the growing demand for his works. The social status of his patrons had also been gradually rising, until,

Castello Rodrigo Ambasciatore della maestà Cattolica nella elettione di Ferdinando Terzo, Rè de Romani. All Ill^mo Sig. Giustino Landi. In Roma, appresso Francesco Cavalli. 1637. Con licenza de' superiori.'

at length, as has just been seen, he had painted two works for the French envoy at Rome. He had now the good fortune to attract the notice of one of the leading men in the Papal Court, Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio, a type of the combination of prelate, courtier, and diplomatist which abounds in the history of the Papacy.

In the early part of his career, Bentivoglio had represented the Curia as Nuncio in Flanders and at the Court of France. A proof of his tact and ability is seen in the fact that he made himself so agreeable in the latter mission, that on his return to Rome Louis XIII. named him to the office of "Protector" of France at the Holy See. He was a man of letters of no inconsiderable merit. His 'History of the Wars of Flanders,' besides passing through several editions in its original Italian, was also translated into English, French, and Spanish. It is to be regretted that he did not live to complete the memoirs of his life, on which he was engaged, as they might have contained interesting information as to his patronage of the rising landscape painter of Lorraine: he was not the only transalpine artist whom he patronised: Van Dyck had been his guest at Rome some twelve years before, and the portrait of his host which he then painted is now in the Pitti Palace at Florence.

The Cardinal was so much impressed by a specimen of Claude's art which he had seen that he ordered two landscapes from him. Nor did his patronage cease here. He brought him under the notice of the reigning Pontiff, Urban VIII., with whom he was on intimate and friendly terms.

This Pope was a member of the great Florentine family of the Barberini, and is remembered as one of those rulers of the Church whose energies were chiefly devoted to the aggrandisement of the temporal, rather than the spiritual, side of their power. During his long pontificate of twenty-one years, Urban's great idea was to protect the States of the Church by the arm

of the flesh. With this view, he established a manufactory of arms, and collected munitions of war, as if he were on the eve of a campaign. He renewed old fortifications, and fortified places previously unprotected. In his defensive works he spared not the most precious monuments of antiquity, hence the grim joke—"*Quod Barbari non fecerunt, Barberini fecerunt.*" To qualities which would rather have befitted a great military sovereign, Urban, strange to say, joined an enthusiastic love of literature. He was an excellent Latinist, and wrote much Latin verse after the best classic models. Moreover, he was so able a Grecian that he secured the cognomen of "the Attic bee."

The Pope endorsed Bentivoglio's favourable opinion of Claude's art. He granted him an interview, and gave him a commission for four works. Two of these subsequently came into the collection of Louis XIV., and are now in the Louvre. One is a pastoral scene, generally known as *The Village Dance* (L. v. 13). Beneath the shade of a clump of trees in the centre of the composition, some villagers are disporting themselves to rustic music. A hunting-party has just arrived on the scene, and one of the cavaliers, hat in hand, is leading a village girl to join in the dance. Lavallée thinks it probable that this picture may have been inspired by a scene on the Meurthe in the painter's native country. And M. Emile Michel sees in it a souvenir of the charming valley in which Claude's birth-place is situated, where the Moselle lingers in its winding course. He does not consider that the vegetation, or the buildings, or the low hills which close in the horizon have a distinctly Italian character. He says: "Having had on several occasions an opportunity of traversing this charming country, each time I have been surprised at the resemblances with some of Claude's favourite subjects which I encountered at nearly every step. The streams which divide into many arms, and are seen in

descending *plateaux*, sometimes rapid in their course, sometimes lost in sleeping pools, the banks fringed with varied vegetation, the gently undulating outlines of the hills, and the horizon which melts imperceptibly into the valleys—all these familiar aspects of his native country are found repeated in Claude's most celebrated pictures."

An engraving is here given of the second picture (L. v. 14) at the Louvre which was painted for Urban VIII. It is sometimes known as *The Ancient Port of Messina.*

These two works are of much importance in considering the life of the painter. It has been seen that his etchings date as far back as 1630. These two pictures bear the signature, "CLAVDIO INV. ROMÆ. 1639," and are his earliest dated works in oil. From the statements of his early biographers, it was formerly supposed that on his return to Rome in 1627, he at once sprang into fame, and that the introduction to Urban VIII. took place very soon after that year. But the date on these pictures tends to cast a doubt on this theory. Taken into consideration with the facts already recorded in this chapter, it rather leads to the conclusion that on Claude's settlement in Rome, he was still unknown, and that till he was close upon forty years old he had an uphill fight. His progress was slow and painful, and he cannot be said to have achieved fame until some ten or twelve years after 1627. And Urban's commission seems to mark the close of his struggles, and his entry into an assured and honourable position in the world of art.

SEAPORT.

From the picture at the Louvre (I. v. 14).

CHAPTER IV.

FAME.

1639—1663.

THERE are no events of a startling character to enliven the story of Claude's subsequent career. Victorious in his contest with poverty, he had no longer to encounter the carking cares which, though sometimes an incentive to exertion, have in too many cases hindered the full development of genius. The history of the succeeding years of his life is chiefly occupied with a record of the commissions which flowed in on every side, and which, notwithstanding his industry, he could barely have found time to execute. This is clearly seen in the number of replicas which he painted, and in the frequent working up into so many of his compositions of what may be called his stock subjects. Besides representative of the ecclesiastical world of Rome—four successive Popes, Cardinals, and Monsignori without number—the members of the great Roman princely families were eager to obtain his pictures. Beyond the confines of Italy, sovereigns, nobles, and prelates were amongst the patrons of his brush. From his native land, from the wealthy Low Countries, from Germany, Spain, and even from remote England and Denmark, commissions came to his studio.

The patronage of Urban VIII. also brought that of the great

Barberini party. One of these was Cardinal Faustus Poli, who had been an intimate friend of Urban's previous to his elevation to the papacy, and had been raised by him to the purple. He had also been appointed to the important post of Prefect of the Vatican. For him Claude painted a seaport, the *Embarkation of S. Ursula* (L. v. 54), and a landscape introducing ungainly figures, which may represent either *Bellerophon and the Chimæra*, or *S. George and the Dragon* (L. v. 73). Both of these works passed during the painter's life-time, as is evinced by his own inscription in the 'Liber Veritatis,' into the possession of Cardinal Antonio Barberino, one of the nephews of the pontiff. The seaport is now in the English National Gallery.

Another of Urban's *entourage* for whom Claude executed commissions was Cardinal Angelo Giorio. He had risen from the ranks, having commenced life as a humble schoolmaster in a remote village of the Apennines. Entering the church, he educated Urban's nephews, and, under the powerful protection of the Barberini, attained to the Cardinalate. He appears to have been one of Claude's chief patrons at this period of his career. There is a record of no less than seven pictures painted for him—three landscapes and three seaports, besides a singular figure subject (L. v. 51) representing *The release of S. Peter from Prison by the Angel.* This last work has disappeared without any detriment to the painter's reputation.

The earliest of the Giorio commissions, a seaport (L. v. 43), is dated 1644. It is in the National Gallery, and is unfortunately in a bad state of preservation. Two others are in the Louvre, having passed direct from the Cardinal's collection to that of Louis XIV. One of these, dated 1647, has for incident *Samuel anointing David King of Israel* (L. v. 69), which Claude, with his usual disregard for the historical correctness of his accessories, represents as taking place under the portico of a Doric temple. This work is also in a bad condition, but

the other Louvre picture, *The Landing of Cleopatra at Tarsus* (L. v. 63), which ranks amongst the finest of Claude's seaports, is in an excellent state of preservation.

For Giorio he also painted one of the pictures now belonging to Lord Bute (L. v. 31). It is a noteworthy instance of his mode of grouping fragments of actual scenes in his compositions. Amongst the features in it which can be recognised are the Arch of Titus, the Pyramid of Cestius, the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli, &c.

About this period, the circle of Claude's acquaintaince included a young fellow-countryman named Jean Nocret. He was a native of Nancy, and was then completing his art studies in Italy. The date of their intimacy is roundly indicated by the fact, that, during the years 1643 and 1644, Nocret was employed at Rome in making copies for M. de Chantelou, the patron of Nicolas Poussin. In the following year, he is found settled at Paris, holding an appointment about the court, and basking in the sunshine of an ample Royal patronage. Claude evidently considered himself under an obligation to his compatriot. There is a little picture (L. v. 97), now in the possession of Lord Methuen, which he sent to Paris in acknowledgment of some services which Nocret had rendered to him. It is painted on metal, and in the foreground are introduced the figures of S. John and two angels. On the back is the following inscription :—

> "*a Monsieur Nocre paintre du* [*roy*] *a Paris faict pur moy Claude Gellée lorain lano* 1647 *Romæ pour le faueur que iay receut.*"

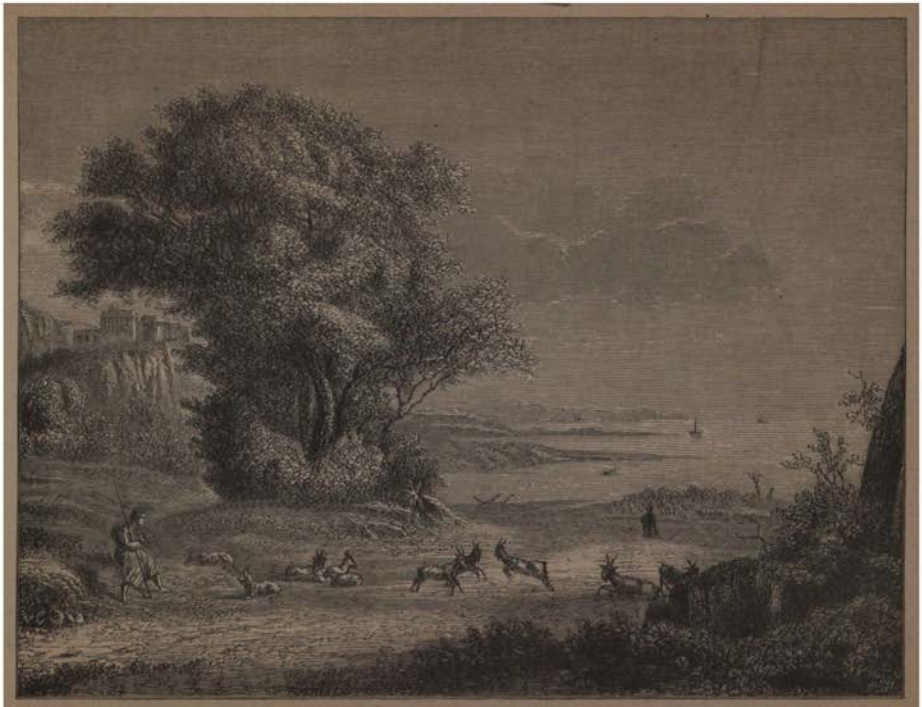
There is no record to show the nature of the favour received by Claude, nor is there any trace of further intimacy between the artists.

The year 1644 saw the death of two of the chief of Claude's early patrons, Cardinal Bentivoglio and Urban VIII. In the

conclave which ensued, the Barberini cardinals, though strong in numbers, were unable to carry the election of their original nominee. They therefore coalesced with others, and secured the choice of Giambattista Pamfili, who assumed the tiara with the title of Innocent X. Although he was one of Urban's nominations to the sacred college, and was hitherto considered not to be ill-affected to the Barberini, his accession brought about an entire change in Papal politics. French influence at the Curia declined, and Spain and the House of Austria resumed their old ascendancy. Within a short time after the death of Urban, his nephews were obliged to fly from Rome, and seek refuge in France, whilst the victorious faction bestowed their offices on others and sequestrated their revenues.

Claude does not appear, however, to have been prejudicially affected by these changes, nor to have suffered any loss of patronage. He was most probably known to, and patronised by, Innocent previous to his election to the Papacy.

His chief patron, however, amongst the new rulers of the Church was the Pope's nephew, Prince Camillo Pamfili. He had been originally raised by his uncle to the Cardinalate, but his ambitious mother, Olympia Maidalchina, who ruled the Papacy in the name of Innocent, had other designs for the future of her son. At her instigation, Camillo cast aside the ecclesiastical dress in order to marry Olympia Aldobrandina, who was not only the richest heiress in Rome, but also possessed great mental and personal charms. A contemporary writer, speaking of the pair, says that she "was as far exalted above ordinary women as he was below the standard of ordinary men." In truth, Camillo cared but little for Papal politics, and left his mother and his wife to struggle and quarrel for power. He preferred other pursuits, and with his great wealth became a munificent patron of the arts. Claude has left a record of four pictures which he painted for him, three of



LANDSCAPE.

From the picture in the Turin Gallery (L. v. 101.)

which are still included amongst the treasures of art in the Doria-Pamfili Palace at Rome. The finest of these is the *Temple of Apollo in the Island of Delos* (L. v. 119). Another is the celebrated *Nuptials of Isaac and Rebecca* (L. v. 113), sometimes known as *Il Molino*, from a small water-mill introduced into the composition.

The English National Gallery is in possession of a repetition of this work, dated 1648, which was painted by Claude for the Duke of Bouillon, one of the turbulent and intriguing spirits produced by the French intestine wars in the early part of the seventeenth century. A Huguenot by birth, and the elder brother of the great Turenne, the Duke had served with the Dutch, and had early distinguished himself at sieges in the Low Countries. He subsequently joined the French service, and became a bitter opponent of Richelieu, entering heart and soul into the Fronde. Involved in the Cinq Mars conspiracy, he only obtained his liberty by the determined spirit of his wife, who threw herself into Sedan, and threatened to deliver it up to the Spaniards if her husband's prison doors were not opened. At length, compelled to quit France, he sought refuge in Italy in 1644. Here ensued another strange change. Abjuring his hereditary Calvinism, he became commander-in-chief of the Papal forces, and it was while residing at Rome in this capacity that he became one of Claude's patrons.

There is another work in the National Gallery painted by Claude for the Duke (L. v. 114), which bears in the left-hand corner the inscription:—

"*CLAVDE GIL. I. V. FAICT POVR SON ALTESSE LE DVC DE BVILLON A ROMA.* 1648."

whilst in the right-hand corner its subject is indicated by the words:—

"*LA REINE DE SABA VA TROVER SALOMON.*"

It represents one of the seaports, flanked on both sides by stately buildings, in which the painter delighted. On the steps of a magnificent classic pile, he has introduced the group which serves to give a title to the picture. But the great charm of the work is the treatment of the light. The sun appears a short distance above the horizon, and its rays are gradually piercing the morning mists, and gilding the crests of the peaceful ripples.

These two pictures, commonly known as the *Bouillon Claudes*, remained in the duke's palace on the Quai Malaquais at Paris till the Revolution. They were then brought to England, and became part of the great Angerstein Collection, which formed the nucleus of the National Gallery. There is an especial interest attached to them in connection with the history of the appreciation of the painter's art in this country. During the eighteenth and the early part of the present century, the English worship of Claude was blind and fanatical. To such an extent was it carried, that his true merits were frequently lost sight of in the indiscriminate and lavish praise bestowed on the mere accessories and subordinate parts of his works, which happened to fit in with the fashionable taste of the day. Thus the classical adjuncts of his landscapes were a fruitful theme of admiration, inasmuch as they coincided with the prevailing pseudo-classicism, which found an expression in sham Roman ruins and summer-houses built in imitation of temples.

That there should be a reaction from this exaggerated and frequently misplaced admiration was but natural. The leader in it was the great English landscape painter, J. W. M. Turner; although it is owned that Claude may be considered his principal master: nay, more, that the Lorrainer had in him a faithful disciple. Thornbury, his biographer, is forced to acknowledge that "there fell upon Turner a baser spirit, that

of rivalry; not the wish to paint like Claude, because Claude's manner sold, or because Claude often obtained a sincerity of air that was pure and exquisite, but because he was determined to show that he could paint better than Claude, with more grandeur and more thought." This spirit is very clearly shown in Turner's will, by which he left his pictures of *Dido Building Carthage* and the *Sun Rising in a Mist* to the National Gallery, on the sole condition of their being hung between the Bouillon Claudes, *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba* and *The Nuptials of Isaac and Rebecca.*

It was not left to Turner alone to carry on the war against the supremacy of Claude. The pen of Ruskin has had even greater influence in the movement than the brush of the painter. And if the criticisms which have appeared in the course of the movement have been frequently exaggerated, their effect cannot be said to be altogether injurious to the reputation of Claude. They have done good service in dispelling the glamour which a passing fashionable taste had thrown around his works, and thereby allowing his true greatness to become apparent.

During these years of busy production for patrons residing in Rome, Claude's reputation had been steadily spreading beyond the confines of Italy. As early as 1644, a landscape, introducing the fable of Narcissus and Echo (L. v. 77), was ordered for England.* It is now in the National Gallery, and though the foreground has darkened, the distance still preserves its aërial charm. The succeeding years saw the despatch of several works to amateurs at Paris. One of these was M. Passart, the *maître*

* The Comte de Cosnac in his 'Richesses du Palais Mazarin,' gives a list of the pictures belonging to Charles I. on sale at Somerset House in 1650. In it is included an upright picture of *St. John the Baptist*, priced at £50, by "Lorrain." This M. de Cosnac considers to be Claude, but I am rather of opinion that it is meant for his fellow-countryman, Charles le Lorrain.

des comptes, who was also the patron of N. Poussin. The two pictures painted for him are both inspired by the scenery in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, and should be classed amongst the painter's transcriptions of actual scenes rather than amongst his compositions. One (L. v. 79) is now in the Grenoble Museum, and the other (L. v. 89) at Windsor Castle. Claude also sent M. Passart a pen-and-ink sketch (now belonging to Mr. Seymour Haden) of the *Mill* picture. He has inscribed it—

> "*Faict a Rome* 1647, *Monsieur le present dessine et pansé du tablau du Prince Panfille, mais la figure pour est* [sic] *un autre sujet. A M. Passart à Paris, par amico, Claude.*"

It would seem to have been a favourite practice of the painter to send such finished drawings to his friends. There is in the British Museum a fine view of St. Peter's, as seen from the Doria-Pamfili villa, which from the inscription appears to have been given to M. de Bertaine in May 1646.* Other instances will be mentioned later on.

But to return to French patrons. Another of these was the Duc de Liancourt, the husband of Jeanne de Schomberg, a woman whose talents and virtues secured her a fair and noble reputation. By her artistic tastes she rendered her chateau a rival to the palaces of royalty. By her intellectual powers she gathered around her the most enlightened spirits of the age, Pascal, Arnauld, and other leaders of the Jansenists. By her affectionate wifely cares she weaned her husband from the pursuit of ignoble pleasures, and rendered him a true partner of their joys and sorrows. For this refined home, Claude painted, in 1648, the landscape known as *The Ford* (L. v. 117). The original, now in the Louvre, has unfortunately lost much of its pristine beauty under the restorer's hand. Another picture painted for the Duc de Liancourt was the seaport, known as

* Engraved in Lewis, Part I. No. 3.

Ulysses restoring Chryseis to her Father (L. v. 80), also in the Louvre.

In the same year that *The Ford* was painted, a German amateur, styled in the Claudian orthography "*principe todesche*,"* received a pastoral landscape (L. v. 116). The identity of this patron is quite lost under the name *Verdummisne*, or *Verdummille*, as it is spelt by the painter. A second commission from him (L. v. 124) is now in the possession of the Duke of Westminster.

About 1650, Claude's time was fully occupied with a large commission from Philip IV. of Spain, who has justly been described as the greatest Royal patron of literature and art of his time. His ardour in collecting works of art was enthusiastic, if such a term may be applied to one whose every portrait bears witness to the cold and phlegmatic disposition, which was not only natural to him, but which he sedulously encouraged. The wealth of Mexico and the Indies which flowed into his coffers enabled him to pay hitherto unheard-of prices for pictures. His ambassadors were employed as his agents in the collection of works of art, and at the sale of the rich gallery collected by the unfortunate Charles I. at Whitehall, Philip was the largest purchaser.

It is possible that the Marquis Castel Rodrigo—to whom Claude was known some years previously by the etchings of the fireworks—may have been the intermediary between Philip and the painter. It is, however, more probable that the commission came through the great Spanish painter Velazquez, whom his Royal master and friend had despatched to Italy about this time to purchase works of art for the intended Academy at Madrid. The Royal emissary landed at Genoa in the early part of 1649, and made a prolonged tour in the chief art centres of the peninsula, purchasing masterpieces of Titian, Tintoretto,

* i. e. *tedesco*.

Paul Veronese, and other painters. Rome was, however, the chief object of his journey. Here he stayed many months, painted some portraits, and was elected a member of the Academy of S. Luke. The probabilities seem to point to Claude's large commission having come through his brother painter, and to the pictures having been executed during the Spaniard's sojourn in Rome.

Baldinucci states that the commission consisted of eight works. This number, together with two from the collection of Philip V, are now in the Royal Gallery at Madrid. Some of them have unfortunately become much darkened by time, and are now mere wrecks. But the others are so important that they place the Spanish Museum in the first rank amongst the public galleries of the continent which boast of specimens of Claude's art. Four of Philip the Fourth's commission are of greater height than width. Two of this upright series—*The Finding of Moses* (L. v. 47), and *Tobit and the Archangel Raphaël* (L. v. 50), with figures attributed to Courtois—afford excellent examples of the warm luminous haze in which Claude delighted. The third picture (L. v. 48) is a representation of the remains of Roman greatness as seen in the *Via Sacra*. In the foreground, the *Burial of Sta. Sabina* is introduced, probably by the hand of Filippo Lauri. The last of this series represents the embarkation of Santa Paula from the port of Ostia (L. v. 49). It is a grand example of Claude's idealised harbours, and was reproduced by him at least three times. These replicas now belong to the Duke of Wellington, Lord Portarlington, and the Dulwich Gallery.

There are two other landscapes of especial merit in the Spanish collection. One is a wild and stony desert, depicted under the influence of waning light, in the midst of which is a hermit rapt in prayerful contemplation, whose figure is attributed to F. Allegrini of Gubbio. The second is a more

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EMBARKATION OF S. PAULA.

From the drawing No. 49 in the "Liber Veritatis."

inviting scene, and is rendered charming by waterfalls and clumps of shady trees. The element of human interest in it is supplied by the figure of a penitent Magdalen, kneeling in contrition before a cross raised on the trunk of a tree. There is a study for this picture in the Albertine Collection at Vienna, dated 1648. This is the only evidence there is in Claude's own hand as to the date of execution of the Spanish commission. Neither the pictures nor the drawings in the 'Liber Veritatis' bear any date.

The wide-spread fame to which the painter had now attained brought, however, its accompanying drawbacks. His peace was disturbed by unscrupulous plagiarists and copyists, some of whom were frequenters of his very studio. Not only was his manner imitated, but his ideas were stolen, frequently before the work of which they were to form a component part had left the easel. Of this the Bourdon episode already mentioned is an example. Copies of his original works and feeble pasticcios of his subjects were sold in Rome under his very eyes, to the great discredit of his reputation. Almost daily, he was bewildered by works which were brought to his house by purchasers to inquire whether they were really his production.

This evil had reached such a pitch that Baldinucci states, that when he was engaged on the commission for the King of Spain, he resolved to form a book, containing sketches of all works produced by him. Thus, when paintings were brought to him for identification, he would be able to refer to this book as evidence of their authenticity.

Baldinucci gives the name of 'Libro d'Invenzioni' or 'Libro di Verità' to this collection of drawings. In England—where it has been for more than a century in the possession of the Dukes of Devonshire—it is generally known by the Latin equivalent, 'Liber Veritatis.' It consists of two hundred sketches executed

with pen or pencil, washed with bistre or Indian ink, and the lights brought out with touches of white. The book has been rebound from several smaller collections, apparently by a French binder. Many of the drawings have been cut down with so little care that parts of Claude's inscriptions on them have been lost. This is not the only damage which the collection has suffered. The careless binder has not preserved the original order of the drawings. Thus, some of the latest sketches have been bound at the beginning, instead of at the end of the volume.

Each drawing bears on its face the painter's signature—generally a monogram composed of the letters C and L. On the back of the sketches are inscriptions repeating his signature, and giving details as to the disposition of the pictures, the date when they were painted, &c. These inscriptions are worded in a curious admixture of Latin, French, and Italian. Generally two, and frequently all three of these languages are found in sentences of some eight or ten words. They also exhibit a plentiful variety of orthography. The painter has spelt his own surname in no less than five different ways. It appears as *Gillée*, *Gellée*, *Gilée*, *Gelle*, and *Gille*.* Hence, it is not surprising that his ideas as to the spelling of other people's names are so vague that in many cases it has been impossible to discover what is the name of the patron he desired to indicate. His great patron, Cardinal Rospigliosi, at first appears as "*Ruspiose*," then as "*Rospioglio*," and finally as "*Rospiglioso*." On the drawing of the picture sent to his artist-friend, Jean Nocret, his spelling of the name assumes the almost phonetic character of "*Ganocr*." It should also be mentioned, that it is not only the painter's handwriting

* To avoid possible complications in the realisation of his property, Claude was obliged to state with much emphasis in his will (see Appendix A), that the correct spelling of his name was "Gellée."

which appears in these inscriptions. Thus the words *Claudio fecit in V. R.*, which occur on the drawings from No. 3 up to No. 112, are in another handwriting. In other places, a third, if not a fourth, hand is to be found.

Next, as to the information contained in the inscriptions. The names of the persons for whom the pictures were painted are given on 141 drawings. In forty-five, only the name of the place for which the work was destined is given. In one case, Claude expressly states that the picture was still with him. The remainder have no indication as to their destination. On three sketches, he has noted that he subsequently painted a replica of the picture therein represented. Out of the two hundred drawings, only seventy-one bear dated inscriptions: the earliest date being 1647, and the latest, 1681. It is worthy of note that, omitting Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 70, which have evidently been displaced by the binder, dates do not begin to occur till the one hundred and twelfth drawing of the collection is reached. After this the sketches continue to be dated with but few breaks, and in fairly consecutive chronological order. With the exception of 1649, 1650, 1651, 1679, and 1682, each year of the painter's life subsequent to 1647 has from one to five pictures assigned to it.

In this inquiring and sifting age, it is not surprising that doubts should have been raised as to the object attributed by Baldinucci to the painter in the 'Liber Veritatis.' The chief arguments against it are as follows. It is urged that the collection does not contain sketches of all Claude's paintings, even of important works undoubtedly his, and executed after the date assigned for the commencement of the idea. The Spanish commission, produced at the very time when the 'Liber Veritatis' is said to have been commenced, is an example of this omission. Only five pictures are therein credited to the King of Spain, while Baldinucci states that the commission

consisted of eight works, and this number is corroborated by the pictures in the Madrid Gallery, which are stated to have come from the collection of Philip IV. Next, it is pointed out that the work would not afford the painter any protection against copyists, who would naturally take great care to reproduce, not only the salient but the minute features of the pictures which they copied. The presence in the 'Liber Veritatis' of a sketch giving the outlines of a picture attributed to him would not be a proof whether the work was an original or a subsequent copy. Then the fact already noticed, that the master has not in every case given the name of the owner of the picture—frequently only giving the name of the place to which it was sent, and in some cases no information whatever as to its destination—would negative the idea of any careful and precise register of the disposition of his works.

These arguments against Baldinucci's statement that Claude undertook the 'Liber Veritatis' to defeat his copyists, appear irresistible. But the inscriptions in it still point to the modified idea that the painter intended it as some kind of a record—whether complete or not—of his pictures and their destination. No other hypothesis will explain the inscription, "*ce present livre appartien à moy que ie faict durant ma vie* (L. v. 1). Then there are notes that one picture is still with him (L. v. 2), that others have changed hands (L. v. 54 and 73), and that he has painted replicas of others (L. v. 5, 154, and 176). All these bear out the record view. And this conclusion has been confirmed by the recent discovery of Claude's will. In it, he makes special mention of the 'Liber Veritatis' as a book containing designs of pictures executed by him for various princes. He is careful to give the number of drawings it contains. And the value he places on it is shown by his directions as to its disposition.

Soon after the completion of the Spanish commission, some

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JACOB BARGAINING WITH LABAN FOR RACHEL.
From the drawing No. 147 in the "Liber Veritatis."

important works were painted by Claude for a Signor Carlo Cardello. Of this patron nothing is known, save that his name shows him to have been a member of an important family allied to the Mancini. The earliest of these works (L. v. 129) dates from 1653, and is now in the Duke of Westminster's gallery at Grosvenor House. It owes its reputation entirely to the charm of the landscape, which is sufficient to atone for the incongruities in the incident, *The Worship of the Golden Calf*, introduced in the foreground. The two other pictures painted for Cardello are both dated 1655. One of them, a marine view (L. v. 132), having for incident the *Abduction of Helen*, now belongs to Lord Lansdowne; the other, *Jacob bargaining with Laban for Rachel* (L. v. 134), is at Lord Leconfield's seat at Petworth, and is not eclipsed by any work amongst the wealth of art which renders that mansion one of the show-houses of England. Waagen justly gives it high praise. He considers it "in point of size, freshness of the silvery morning tones, carefulness of execution, and delicacy of gradations, one of the most important works of the middle period of the master."

In 1655, the usurpation and exactions of Olympia Maidalchina and the Pamfilis came to an end with the death of Pope Innocent. The Spanish influence, however, still retained its power in the conclave. Notwithstanding the efforts of Mazarin, Cardinal Fabio Chigi, after a considerable contest, was elected Pope, taking the title of Alexander VII. He was a member of the great Sienese family, whose fortunes were founded by Agostino Chigi, the friend of Raphael, and the rival of the powerful Medici family. Although the new Pope bore an excellent reputation for integrity, and great hopes were conceived of him, the condition of affairs at Rome was not much mended. He took but little active share in the administration of the Papacy. Such power had but little attraction for him. As a contemporary says: "His only thought was, how he might

pass his life in unruffled tranquillity." The decision of questions, civil and ecclesiastical, was left mainly to the various congregations, which consequently obtained greatly increased power during his pontificate.

The Pope's time was chiefly spent in literary pursuits. He delighted in the patronage of authors, and in playing the part of critic on the works submitted to his judgment. The arts also received a share of his attention. To his love of architecture the churches and public buildings at Rome owed many improvements, which, according to an eye-witness, resulted in the great adornment of the city. He had a high appreciation of Claude, who painted two works for him, which in 1872 were both in Russia in the possession of Prince Issoupoff. One is a landscape (L. v. 137), known as *The Battle on the Bridge*, from the conflict introduced in the foreground. The other picture—which, by the inscription in the 'Liber Veritatis,' was apparently begun while Alexander was still a cardinal, and was only completed after his elevation to the Papacy—is a marine view (L. v. 136), with the *Rape of Europa* for incident. This composition was evidently a great favourite with the painter. It is practically identical with his etching (No. 22, Appendix D) of some five-and-twenty years before. It is the subject of a picture (L. v. 111) which formerly belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds, and was engraved by Vivares. In the Morrison collection is a version of it in oil (L. v. 144), which is referred to the year 1658, and at Buckingham Palace is a replica of Alexander's picture dated 1667. The same composition also occurs in a finished sketch at the British Museum,* dated 1670.

On his accession, Alexander had set his face against nepotism, and had won golden opinions thereby. But he soon succumbed to the prevailing vice of the Papacy. One nephew, Flavio,

* Engraved in Earlom, vol. iii., No. 6.

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THE RAPE OF EUROPA.

From the drawing No. 144 in the "Liber Veritatis."

became cardinal padrone, and was endowed with great ecclesiastical revenues. Agostino, the son of a dearly-loved brother, did not enter the Church; but he had principalities and sinecures bestowed on him, and the hand of a daughter of the Borghese house was secured to him in marriage. For the decoration of his palace in the Piazza Colonna, Claude contributed a landscape (L. v. 145), sometimes known as *David at the Cave of Adullam*, and at other times described as *Sinon brought prisoner before Priam*. It was painted in 1658, and subsequently came into the possession of an English clergyman, who bequeathed it to the National Gallery. It is the finest example of the painter's third and maturest style in the English collection. The composition of the rich and extended landscape, the alternation of hills and dales and water, and the treatment of light and shade caused by the cloudy sky, command high admiration. Even Ruskin is constrained to acknowledge that it is "a really fine work of Claude's."

In the year after the election of Alexander to the Papacy, Rome was in a dire condition through the ravages of the plague. To this dread visitation is due a passing mention of Claude, which is of some importance in the story of his life. From a census of the inhabitants taken in that year, it appears that the painter—*Claudio Gellee, Lorenese, d'anni* 55. *Pittore*, so runs the description given by the enumerator—was then residing in the Strada Paolina, a street which seems to be identical with the modern Via Paola, close by the Tiber, and leading to the Ponte S. Angelo. This would cast a doubt on the hitherto received opinion, that throughout his career at Rome Claude inhabited a house in the Piazza della Trinità on the Pincian Hill. And it will be seen anon that another recent discovery gives additional force to this doubt.

In the year following that of the plague was painted the *Christ preaching on Mount Tabor* (L. v. 138), now in the

possession of the Duke of Westminster. The inscription on its design in the 'Liber Veritatis' has long been a source of perplexity. It now may be safely concluded that the patron whose name is intended is the Bishop of Montpellier. This prelate, François Bosquet, was only appointed to his see in 1655, and he came to Rome in the following January for papal confirmation of his elevation to the episcopate. It was during this visit that he gave Claude the commission for this work. Six years later another picture—an architectural composition, introducing the Scriptural subject of *Esther* (L. v. 146)—which cannot unfortunately be traced, was also painted for this patron. There is a particular interest attached to it, as Baldinucci states that it was a great favourite with the artist, who considered it his finest work. In the British Museum is a study for it carefully squared out.* It has certain variations from the 'Liber Veritatis' sketch, of which the most notable is the introduction in the distance of what seems to be a medieval conception of the Tower of Babel.

The year 1657 saw the execution of two works for a M. Delagarde, of both of which there are finished studies in the royal collection at Windsor.† One of these pictures, an Arcadian scene, introducing the *Metamorphosis of the Apulian Shepherd* (L. v. 142), belongs to Lord Ellesmere. The other, *Polyphemus, Acis, and Galatea* (L. v. 141), is in the Dresden Gallery, and has had a curious episode in its history. Coming into the possession of a Count de Nocé, he had Claude's ungainly figures repainted by no less a hand than that of Bon Boulogne. This painter added to the original subject a Cupid, with attendant doves, seated to the right of the unfortunate lovers.

It is not wholly surprising that the Count de Nocé should have ventured on a proceeding, which in these days would,

* Engraved in Lewis, Part I., No. 4.

† Engraved in Chamberlaine, Nos. 38 and 41.

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ARCHITECTURAL LANDSCAPE: ESTHER.

From the drawing No.148 in the "Liber Veritatis."

nevertheless, be stigmatised in unmeasured terms. The figures in Claude's pictures, when painted by himself, are a serious blot on the compositions. As has been already said, he was fully aware of his weakness in this respect, and frequently, in the middle and latter part of his career, availed himself of the services of his brother artists to insert the figures in his pictures. Amongst those who thus helped him were Filippo Lauri, Francesco Allegrini, Jan Miel, and one of the two Courtois.

Lauri was the son of a Flemish artist, a disciple of Paul Bril, who had settled in Italy. As he was not born till 1623, it is evident that his handiwork should not be looked for in any pictures painted by Claude before he was quite settled in his second style. Lauri was a man of general culture, and acquired a reputation for his Bacchanalian subjects. The figures in Claude's great series, *Morning*, *Noon*, *Evening*, and *Night*, at the St. Petersburg Hermitage are ascribed to him; and Villot also considers that he assisted in the *Samuel anointing David*, and *Ulysses restoring Chryseis*, now in the Louvre.

Allegrini was a native of Gubbio, and a pupil of the Cavaliere d'Arpino. He had considerable practice at Rome as a fresco painter, and also executed small battle pieces, hunting scenes, &c. As he was born in 1587, and died in 1663, his assistance must have been chiefly confined to works of Claude's early and middle periods.

Jan Miel was an Antwerp painter, who imbibed the first principles of art from Gerard Seghers. Migrating to Rome, he fell under the influence of the Caracci through Andrea Sacchi. He is best known by his hunting pieces, pastoral scenes, &c., with small figures, such as would be fitly introduced in Claude's landscapes. Some of the Hermitage pictures are said to bear traces of his brush, and Villot ascribes to

him the figures in the two early works at the Louvre painted for M. de Bethune.

It is not quite clear which of the Courtois brothers acted as Claude's coadjutor. It may have been the younger and less known Guillaume, or possibly it was Jacques, the celebrated battle painter, *il Borgognone*, who lent the aid of his brush. It is to the latter that the figures in the curious *Siege of Rochelle* and *Pass of Susa*, in the Louvre, are inscribed, and for many years he was credited with the entire execution of them. It is to be noticed that two sketches in the 'Liber Veritatis,' dated 1658, are inscribed as being painted for "Mr. Courtois." They represent *The Judgment of Paris* (L. v. 143) and *The Rape of Europa* (L. v. 144). The latter picture is one of the repetitions already mentioned of the favourite composition painted for Pope Alexander VII. There is a further trace of connection between the painters. In the Heseltine Collection is a pencil drawing by Claude, which bears a considerable resemblance to the *Village Fête* painted for Urban VIII., and the *Dance under the Trees* etching. It is inscribed—

> "*A Monsieur Courtois, a Paris, Claude Gellée, dit le Lorrain*, 1665."

In February 1659, *The Worship of the Golden Calf* (L. v. 148), now in the Morrison Collection, was completed for an Antwerp patron, M. Gessly, whose identity cannot be traced. In it are repeated, with some slight variations, the figures used six years before in the Cardello picture inspired by the same subject. As if, however, to show the wealth of his imagination in his own province, the details of the landscape in which the incident is placed are entirely different. Another important work of this period is the composition known as *The Decline of the Roman Empire* (L. v. 153), now belonging to the Duke of Westminster. It is stated to have been painted for a "Mr.

LANDSCAPE: PONTE MOLA (L. V. 93).

le Brun," who may possibly have been the all-powerful founder of the French Academy. Claude had already painted a larger version of this work (L. v. 82)—now belonging to Lord Radnor —which, it is curious to note, is said in the 'Liber Veritatis' (though not in Claude's hand-writing) also to have been produced for Le Brun.

This period of the painter's career saw a revival of his interest in etching. After the production of the plates illustrating the fireworks, he would seem to have put aside the burin for many years. With the exception of the *Flock in Stormy Weather* (Appendix D, No. 18), which is dated 1651, there are no etchings by him which bear dates between 1637 and 1662. In the latter year, he produced two of his largest plates, *Mercury and Argus* (Appendix D, No. 20), and *Time, Apollo, and the Seasons* (Appendix D, No. 17), and in 1663 *The Goatherd* (Appendix D, No. 19). Mr. Julian Marshall has an impression of the second of these etchings, which was apparently sent to the painter's old patron, the *maître des comptes*. It bears the following inscription in his hand-writing—

"*M. Passart à Paris, Recommandé par M. Colignon.*
Monsieur, Je suis
Votre, &c. Claude."

This M. Colignon also received from Claude a copy of the *Mercury and Argus* etching, according to an inscription on a proof seen by M. Meaume.

CHAPTER V.

LATTER YEARS.

1663—1682.

THOUGH fame and prosperity had come to the painter, the latter years of his life were wholly unclouded. A chief cause was the state of his health. From Baldinucci's account, it appears that from the age of forty he was much troubled with the gout. And from Lady Dilke's discovery of his will we learn, that in February, 1663, he was suffering from an illness of such a grave character that his death was expected. The inscription on the drawing No. 158 in the 'Liber Veritatis':

> *Au dy* 26 *febrare* 1663 *a questo mio libro si ritrovano cento e cinquanto sette disegne di mano mio questo di suditte faict per l'excelle*^{mo} *Contestabile Colona Claudio Gillée man*^{ra} *in Roma.*

would seem to indicate that on the 26th February he was putting his affairs in order. And on the 28th a notary was summoned to make his will. It may be regarded as indicative of the serious nature of his illness that though only two days before, as has just been seen, he had counted the drawings in the 'Liber Veritatis' as 157, yet now, in making his will, he is doubtful whether they number 137 or 177.

From Claude's will, many important and interesting details concerning him have been brought to light. First, there is a corroboration as to the relative mentioned by Sandrart as acting as his *major-domo*. To this nephew, Jean Gellée, a bequest is expressly made in return for the good services rendered by him in the house.

Then there is mention made of another inmate of the household, hitherto quite unknown, a little girl named Agnes Gellée. For her maintenance and guardianship, ample and very careful provision is made. After the painter's death, she is to be placed in whatever convent she pleases.. Minute directions are given in the event of her marrying, or taking the veil, as to the disposition of the property bequeathed to her. Two apostolic notaries are appointed her guardians, and to each of them is left a picture. To her, the painter leaves a third part of his furniture, and amongst other objects specially designated, his bed, his ebony writing desk, and a picture of the *Flight into Egypt*, "painted on the spot by my hand," and hanging in his bed-room. Finally, the precious 'Liber Veritatis' is bequeathed to her for life. Who was this favourite child about whose future he was so solicitous, and to whom he is careful to leave the most treasured of his belongings? What relationship existed between her and the painter? For answer to these questions, we must be content with the mysterious passage at the end of the will, in which Claude, as if anticipating the inquiries which would arise, simply says:—"I state and declare that the aforesaid Agnes is a little girl, now nearly eleven years old, as the certificate of baptism testifies, living with me, and brought up in my house (where she now lives) in charity."

Amongst the witnesses to the will was the well-known French engraver, Dominique Barrière of Marseilles. At the time of the painter's illness, he had been resident in Rome for about ten years, and their intimacy was apparently no recent one. Three

years before, he had engraved one of Claude's seaports: that painted in 1646 (L. v. 96), which is now in the Louvre. As this picture, as well as the *Ulysses and Chryseis* (L. v. 80), which he engraved in the following year, were then in France, it would seem that Barrière must have had recourse to the sketches in the painter's possession. And this conclusion is borne out by an examination of the drawings of these two works in the 'Liber Veritatis.' On each of them is an inscription, of which the only legible word is the Latin *incidere*, that is, to engrave. It is to be noted that on the sketches of the other pictures engraved by Barrière, which at that time were all accessible in Rome, this inscription does not occur.*

Beside ill-health, it would also appear that Claude's latter years were not wholly free from the old annoyance caused by copyists. In connection with this, Baldinucci relates a curious incident. He states that Claude some years before had taken pity on a poor lame and deformed lad, named Giovanni Domenico. He had received him into his house, and had taught him drawing and painting. The youth profited so well by the instruction that in the course of time he obtained no inconsiderable reputation in Rome as a landscape painter, and Felibien mentions that he was known as an able imitator of his master. The friendly character of their intercourse is shown by the fact that Claude also instructed him in music, the practice of which is said to have formed a favourite relaxation of the painter.

* The plates engraved by Barrière after Claude, together with the years in which they were executed, are as follows :—

1. *Seaport* (L. v. 96)—1660.
2. *Ulysses and Chryseis* (L. v. 80)—1664.
3. *Embarkation of S. Ursula* (L. v. 54)—1665.
4. *Mercury, Aglauros, and Hersé* (L. v. 70)—1668.
5. *St. George and the Dragon, or Bellerophon and the Chimæra* (L. v. 73)—1668.

This intimate relationship lasted some five and twenty years. Then came a rupture. Reports were circulated that the pictures which issued from Claude's studio were not his own production, but were really the work of his assistant. Domenico, having left the painter's house, made a claim for salary for the long period during which he had been with him as *protégé*, pupil, and assistant. To this demand was added a threat of ulterior proceedings. Claude, prompted probably by his love of seclusion, and mindful of the delay and uncertainty of the processes of the law, yielded, and, without entering into further controversy, caused the claim to be liquidated from his investments in the Bank of the Spirito Santo. Domenico is said not to have long survived this transaction, and there is no further record of him, nor can any of his works now be traced.

Besides Domenico, Claude appears to have had but one pupil who, according to Pascoli, ever obtained any reputation. This was a landscape painter named Angelo, or Angeluccio, of whom little is known, and none of whose works can now be identified. He must have studied under Claude towards the end of the latter's career, as he is spoken of as practising in Rome about 1680; and it is further stated that his premature death rendered of no avail the great pains which the master had bestowed on his art-training.

Hermann Swanevelt and Guillaume Courtois, the younger brother of Le Bourguignon, are sometimes mentioned as pupils of Claude. But there does not appear to be any foundation for this statement. They rather belong to that large category of painters whose art was influenced by the Lorrainer, and they should be ranked amongst his followers. Under this head should be included Gaspard Dughet, the brother-in-law and pupil of Nicolas Poussin. There is no trace of the relationship of master and pupil having existed between Claude and him, though it is most probable that they were personally acquainted with each

other. This much is certain, that it was owing to his study of the wealth of light and air in Claude's works that Gaspard freed himself from the coldness and stiffness evident in the pictures produced in his early period.

The chief patron of Claude's latter years was the Constable Colonna, the head of the powerful Roman family of that name. Shortly before the painter's introduction to him, he had contracted a marriage fraught with great trouble. His wife was the celebrated Maria Mancini, one of the nieces of Cardinal Mazarin. It was she who had captivated the youthful heart of Louis XIV. At one time it had seemed probable that her brow would be adorned with the crown of France. She lived an unhappy life with the Constable, though without open rupture, till 1672. She then ran away with her sister, Hortensia Mancini, who was also living apart from her husband, the Duc de la Meilleraye. Immured in various convents, she always succeeded in evading restraint, and at length died in a miserable old age, having survived the Constable many years.

For this great noble, Claude painted at least eight pictures. The earliest of which there is a record (L. v. 158) was finished in 1663, apparently just before the illness in which the painter made his will. It is a landscape, having for incident the *Flight into Egypt*, and has successively graced the collections of Prince Lucien Bonaparte and Lord Ashburton. A repetition of it is in the possession of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle.

In two of the Colonna pictures, Claude introduced the charming classical fable of Psyche. One of these (L. v. 162), painted in 1664, and now belonging to Lord Wantage, is sometimes known as *The Enchanted Castle*. It is a silvery twilight scene, in which the most prominent object is a noble pile of buildings raised high on a rock above the sea-shore. The other Psyche composition (L. v. 167), which is also in England, is a cool morning landscape, in which the chief feature is a broad

stream, edged with verdant bushes, and shaded by groups of trees.

Another of the Colonna commissions, painted in 1669, is a landscape ornamented with classic architecture (L. v. 175), in which is represented what has sometimes been called *Diana reposing after the fatigue of the chase*, and at other times *Egeria and her nymphs*. The painter intended it for the latter, as there is a sketch of it in the possession of Lord Leicester, dated 1670, which is inscribed *Dea ninfa Egeria*. This picture has not left the country in which it was painted, but now decorates the walls of the Naples Museum.

It will have been noticed how many of these Colonna pictures have found their way to England. This is the case with great numbers of Claude's works, whose original homes were in the palaces of Rome. During the troublous times which ushered in the present century, when the French armies overran Italy, the Roman nobles were on all sides selling their works of art to meet the forced contributions levied upon them. To show the extent to which collections were dispersed, it may be mentioned that a catalogue of the Colonna Gallery, published in 1783, alone includes fifteen pictures by Claude; that is, nearly as many works by him as are now contained in the whole of the galleries, both public and private, at Rome. This dispersal of the painter's works, when the Claude-worship in this country was at its height, was favourable for their acquisition by English amateurs, and contributed materially towards rendering England the most favoured country for the study of his productions. Hence, a distinguished French critic has not been able to refrain from giving vent to a sneer, that by means of her gold England has obtained nearly all his works, leaving only a few specimens for the rest of the world.

Next to the Constable Colonna, the artist's greatest patron about this time was a French ecclesiastical visitor to Rome.

This was M. de Bourlemont, who came in October 1664, for papal confirmation of his election to the Archbishopric of Toulouse. He remained at Rome about a year, during which Claude painted three pictures for him. One of these is the large and fine landscape (L. v. 161), now in the Bridgewater Gallery, in which the incident of *Moses and the Burning Bush* is introduced at the side of the picture. It exhibits a broad expanse of diversified country, and is an excellent example of the harmonious feeling which characterises the painter's third style. Two studies for this picture, containing considerable variations, are to be found in the Duke of Devonshire's Collection at Chatsworth,* and a sketch in colours, dated 1660, belongs to Mr. H. Vaughan. There is also in the British Museum a careful study of the noble tree which occupies the centre of the composition.†

The archbishop paid a second visit to Rome in 1667, on business connected with the Jansenist controversy. He then obtained from Claude another picture (L. v. 171), which is also in the possession of Lord Ellesmere. It is a broad and sunny marine view. On one side, the dark blue sea is flanked by the columns of a ruined classic building, whilst a contrast is afforded on the opposite side of the picture by the verdant promontory enclosing the bay. In the foreground is the figure of Demosthenes pacing the shore in solitary study preparatory to one of his oratorical efforts.

In March 1667, a great friend and patron of Claude's was promoted to the highest position in the ecclesiastical world. This was Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi, who assumed the tiara under the title of Clement IX. He had held the post of Secretary of State to Alexander VII., under whom he had the chief administration of the foreign relations of the Curia. His reputa-

* Engraved in Earlom, vol. iii., Nos. 95 and 99.

† Engraved in Lewis, Part II., No. 1.

tion was of the highest, and his short reign is one of the fairest in the records of the Papacy, although he found it difficult, and frequently almost impossible, to break through the evil traditions by which he was surrounded.

While Rospigliosi was still a cardinal, Claude had painted two works for him. One of these (L. v. 15) forms an apt illustration of Virgil's,—

> "Tityre, tu, patulæ recubans sub tegmine fagi,
> Sylvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avenâ."

The other, a landscape (L. v. 34), which was subsequently brought to England, shows travellers attacked by brigands, whilst in the foreground the affrighted peasants are hurriedly driving their cattle away from the scene of robbery and bloodshed. Some of the figures used in this composition also do duty in the etching of 1633 known as *The Brigands* (Appendix D, No. 12), though the landscape is quite different.

A third picture for Rospigliosi (L. v. 170) was begun, as the inscription in the 'Liber Veritatis' plainly shows, just before his elevation to the Papacy, and was only finished after he had become Pope. It is partly a marine view, with the ruined portico of a temple in the foreground, and the Coliseum in the distance. The incident in it is founded on the classic tale of the sisters Aglauros and Hersé. The inscription just referred to also throws a light on the source whence Claude took his classical subjects. It is identical in wording with the *Annotazione* of G. Horologgi to Anguillara's translation of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses.'

There is an interesting little story showing this Pope's appreciation of Claude. One of the painter's favourite sketching haunts was the Villa Madama, built for the Medicis on the eastern slopes of the Monte Mario. At the British Museum is a carefully-finished sketch, drawn with pen and washed with

sepia, of a large trunk of a tree covered with ivy, which bears Claude's "*fecit a Vigne Madama;*"* and in the Knowles' Collection is a sketch of trees, inscribed, "*fatto a la villa Madame.*"† From this spot, he could obtain views both of Rome itself and of the broad expanse of the Campagna, stretching from the Sabine hills to the sea-coast. Here he had painted with great care one of the open-air studies in oil referred to by Sandrart, which he did not suffer to depart from his possession. It served as an encyclopædia of the trees, foliage, and other details which he was accustomed to insert in his compositions, and was thus of great use to him in these his latter years, when his enemy, the gout, put a stop to out-door study. Clement IX., in his visits to the studio, had seen and greatly appreciated this picture. In his desire to obtain it, he offered as many gold pieces as would cover the canvas on which it was painted, but the painter was firm, and declined to allow it to pass from his keeping.

An evidence of the friendly relations existing between this pontiff and Claude is seen in the painter's will. Therein he bequeaths Rospigliosi—then still a cardinal—two drawings to be chosen from amongst his sketches, as a recognition "of the good advice which he has always given me."

Amongst the Italian commissions at this period were two pictures for Sicily. One, painted in 1665, is a marine view (L. v. 165), with *The Call of SS. Andrew and Peter;* and the other, painted in 1667, is a pastoral landscape (L. v. 172). For Paolo Francesco Falconieri, a Florentine noble and a great patron of the arts, he painted in 1666-7 a pair of pictures, in which the incidents are taken from Tasso. In one, a landscape (L. v. 166), is introduced *Erminia and the Old Shepherd;* in the other (L. v. 168), a marine view almost identical with the

* Engraved in Lewis, Part I., No. 14.

† Catalogue of Winter Exhibition of Royal Academy, 1879.

favourite Europa composition, is *The Embarkation of Carlo and Ubaldo.*

But it was not for Italy alone that Claude's brush was occupied. The record in the 'Liber Veritatis' of works executed by him in his latter years, attests how widely his fame had spread beyond the Alps. As an instance of the appreciation of his art, it may be mentioned that at the death of Cardinal Mazarin in 1661, his gallery of pictures was valued by Mignard, Du Fresnoy, and Podesta. It included two landscapes by Claude, which were each priced at 1000 *livres tournois.* Only thirty-five out of some five hundred pictures were assigned higher values.* Amongst the works Claude sent to his native country, he painted in 1667 for a M. Parasson of Lyons a charming landscape (L. v. 110), which subsequently formed part of the collection de Count de Noé, and now ornaments the walls of the Dresden Gallery. Though a Roman aqueduct and other buildings of an Italian type are seen in the distance, through a wonderful luminous haze, yet M. Michel cites this picture as one of those whose inspiration is due to the charming valleys through which the Moselle flows. He considers that the river introduced in the foreground, whose course is broken up by a series of rapids and cascades, and whose stream rushes towards the spectator in swirling eddies, is distinctly characteristic of the painter's native country.

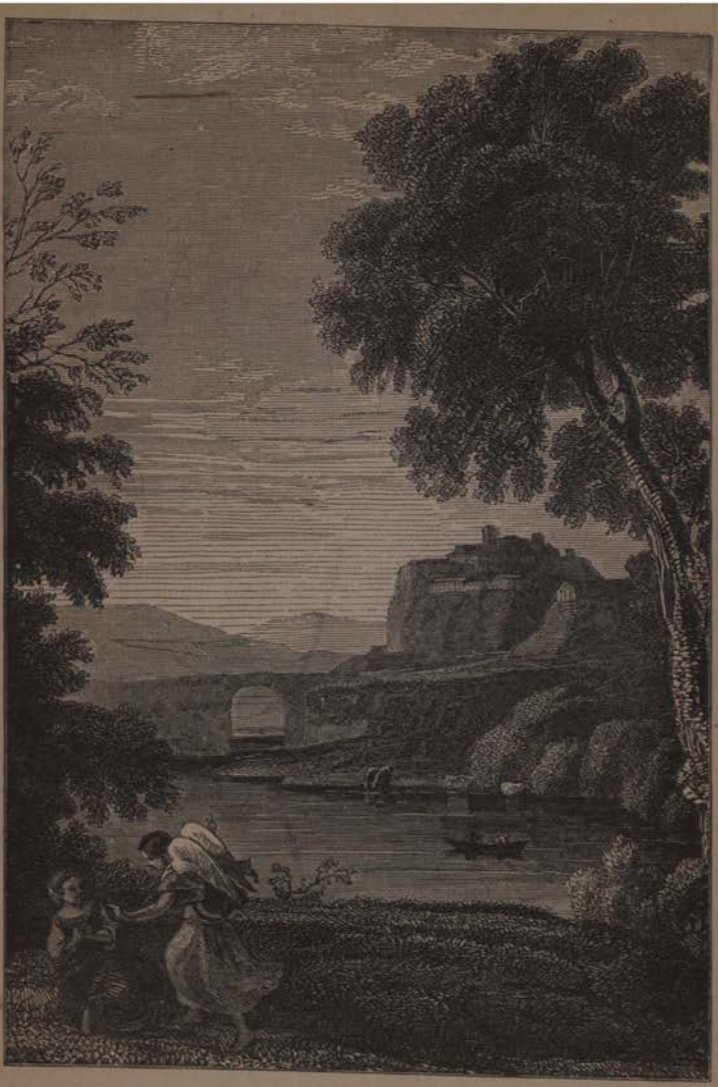
The incident, *The Flight of the Holy Family*, which serves to give a title to this picture, is barely visible in the background on one side of the composition. This subsidiary character of the figures introduced into many of Claude's works is very noticeable. As in the present instance, so in *Demosthenes*, *Psyche*, and in many others, the incident by which the work is known might be omitted without any appreciable loss. In many cases, again, it is difficult to decide to what incident

* Cosnac: 'Les Richesses du Palais Mazarin.'

the figures relate. In the National Gallery, there is one picture which may represent the *Annunciation*, or *Hagar and the Angel*, or *Tobit and the Angel*, and another composition introduces what may be either *David at the Cave of Adullam*, or *Sinon brought before Priam*. At the Naples Gallery, there is the picture already mentioned which is sometimes called *Egeria*, and sometimes *Diana*. In how many of his seaports, too, is it immaterial whether they are labelled the *Queen of Sheba*, *Cleopatra*, *St. Ursula*, or *St. Paula*. Further, so little does he care for the correct relation of the incident to his landscape—though in this respect he sins, with the exception of Poussin, in company with all his contemporaries—that Abraham expels Hagar from the door of a classic edifice, David is anointed before a Doric portico, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

The amateurs in the Low Countries during this period received several very important works from the painter's studio. A picture containing a version of the classic story of the shepherd Battus and the thievish Mercury (L. v. 159) was sent to Antwerp in 1663. It is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. For another amateur of Antwerp, whose name would appear to be Dalmalaye, he painted in the same year a landscape (L. v. 160) under the influence of evening light, in which the sea is seen in the extreme distance, and towards which a river is winding its peaceful course. On the banks of the stream, the young Tobit, with his angel companion, is bending over the fish which he has just caught. Antwerp received yet another picture in 1667 (L. v. 169), which ranks among the painter's masterpieces. It obtains a name from the incident of *Jacob and Rachel at the Well*, introduced in the foreground, but it is also known as *Morning*.

One of his Flemish patrons was an ecclesiastical dignitary, Henri Van Halmaele, Bishop of Ypres. He was an old friend,



THE ANNUNCIATION.

From the picture in the National Gallery (L. v. 106).

for a drawing* of the picture of *Jacob and Rachel* just mentioned was presented to him in 1663 by the painter, in which the latter styles himself Van Halmaele's "*tres humble et aff. serviteur.*" In 1672—the year in which the prelate came to Rome for papal confirmation of his election to the episcopate—Claude painted for him a landscape (L. v. 181), known as *Night*, in which is introduced Jacob wrestling with the angel. This composition was evidently well thought out. There are many sketches of it extant. In the British Museum are two studies on the same sheet of paper, in which the position of the trees and of the figures is reversed. At the Louvre and in the Duke of Devonshire's collection† are two drawings of it, both dated 1671, and three more sketches are to be found in the Heseltine and Poynter Collections.

The last three pictures mentioned among the commissions from the Low Countries, have had an eventful history. In the latter years of the eighteenth century, they formed part of the Electoral Collection at Hesse Cassel. During the wars which succeeded the French Revolution, they were carried off by Napoleon's generals, and, while in France, decorated the walls of the Empress Josephine's retreat at Malmaison. After the Napoleonic downfall in 1815, they were purchased by the Emperor Alexander and taken to Russia. They have now found a resting-place in the Palace of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, which thereby takes a place in the first rank amongst the collections of Claude's art in the public galleries of Europe.

Commissions from Germany also claimed a considerable share of the painter's time in the last two decades of his life. Baldinucci states that he painted four pictures for a Count Waldestein, two of which were intended for the Emperor Leopold I. But

* Engraved in Earlom, vol. iii., No. 73.

† Engraved in Earlom, vol. iii., No. 97.

the 'Liber Veritatis' mentions only two works for this patron. These were executed in 1668, and illustrate the story of Hagar. The first (L. v. 173) is a fresh morning landscape, in which the sun, as yet not far above the horizon, is gradually dispersing the light clouds. It portrays the repulsion of the bondwoman and her child from the patriarch's abode. This the painter has chosen with his usual license to represent as a stately classic edifice. In the second picture (L. v. 174) is the appearance of the angel to Hagar. Here the scene is not a desert, but the story has so far been consulted that the action is placed in a wilder and more desolate country than the companion picture. For this composition there is one of Claude's painful figure studies in the British Museum, inscribed "*Agare et Ismael. L'angelo mostre l'acqua.*" *

Another German patron, Francesco Mayer, a councillor of the Elector of Bavaria, came from Ratisbon. As an instance of the difficulty of deciphering Claude's writing, it may be mentioned that Earlom in one inscription has given the name as *Piapiera*, and the mistake has been copied by Smith in the 'Catalogue Raisonné.' The three pictures painted for him are described at some length in the 'Academia' by Sandrart, who had seen them in Germany. The earliest (L. v. 176) is dated 1670, and is a repetition of the *Herdsman* etching of thirty-four years before. This, like the Waldestein pictures, is in the Pinakothek at Munich.

In the summer of this year, Claude was again prostrated by illness. And on the 25th June, the notary Vannius was called in to draw up a codicil to the will of 1663. The lawyer informs us that, although obliged to dictate his wishes, yet the testator had sufficient strength to be able to affix his signature. As in the will, so in this document, the first name which occurs is Agnes, "*mia zitella,*" as the painter affectionately calls his

* Engraved in Lewis, Part III., No. 10.

adopted child, now some eighteen years of age. The bequest previously made to her is confirmed and increased by a gift of 500 *scudi*, and she is also to receive a gold medal and chain and a diamond ring. Jean, his housekeeper-nephew, also receives an addition to his share of the property, besides a gift of trinkets similar to Agnes.

This illness seems to have left its mark on the painter. The 'Liber Veritatis' records only one picture as having been painted in each of the years 1670 and 1671. But by 1672 he appears to have been in full work again. First, there was a repetition for a Monsieur Fache of the *Herdsman* picture painted two years before. Then there was the picture already mentioned for the Bishop of Ypres, and another commission (L. v. 178) from the Constable Colonna. For the Florentine Falconieri, a second pair of works was commenced, which was only finished in the following year. For these, Virgil furnished the themes. One (L. v. 180), which is now in the Brussels Museum, introduces Æneas, accompanied by the faithful Achates, hunting the deer which are to form a banquet for the Trojan wanderers. This composition was no novelty in the painter's mind as there is a drawing of it dated 1660.* The other picture (L. v. 183) has for subject the Cumæan Sibyl conducting Æneas to the infernal regions. Here the Temple of the Sibyl is appropriately introduced, and the line of the distant horizon is broken by the island of Capri.

The following year saw no diminution in the commissions from the painter's old patrons. For the German baron Mayer, two more pictures were executed. One (L. v. 5), completed in July 1674, is in the Munich Pinakothek. It is a replica of a seaport painted many years before for the Bishop of Mantes, which subsequently formed part of the celebrated Walpole Collection at Houghton, bought by the Empress Catherine, and

* Engraved in Earlom, vol. iii., No. 40.

now in the Hermitage Palace at St. Petersburg. The sketch (L. v. 188) of the other picture for Mayer bears the date of October, 1676. This work subsequently came into the hands of the picture-dealer Desenfans, from whom it passed to Sir F. Bourgeois, R.A., and was bequeathed to the Dulwich Gallery. The scene is in a maritime country, and the principal object in the landscape is a group of trees in the centre of the picture, beneath which are the figures of Jacob bargaining with Laban for his daughter Rachel.

The Constable Colonna also continued his commands. For this constant Mæcenas was painted in 1676 a seaport (L. v. 186) representing Æneas and Dido at Carthage. It is evidently a repetition of an old subject, as there is a sketch of it in the Seymour-Haden Collection dated 1646. In the following year, the Constable received a composition (L. v. 190) in which are recognised the oft-repeated Temple of the Sibyl, the Ponte Mola, &c., and in 1680 a landscape (L. v. 193) introducing Parnassus, Apollo, and the Muses.

Another patron who again sought the painter's studio was M. de Bourlemont, the Archbishop of Toulouse. In July, 1678, he received a landscape (L. v. 192), in which the well-worn incident of Mercury and Battus does duty once more. The last sketch in the 'Liber Veritatis' also bears the Archbishop's name, but it is doubtful whether the inscription is intended to intimate that the picture was painted for him. It is a marine view identical with that already executed for him in 1667, and the only difference is that Jonah and the whale have been substituted for the figure of Demosthenes. The inscription would rather seem to indicate that the work presented to "Signor Don Briena" was a repetition of the Bourlemont picture.

Cardinal Camillo Massimo was another patron who renewed his commissions. He was a supporter of the Barberini, and

LANDSCAPE: MERCURY AND BATTUS.

From the drawing No. 192 *in the Liber Veritatis.*

had shared their downfall. It was not till 1670 that he recovered his position, and was made a cardinal by his relative, Clement X. Possessed of considerable artistic tastes, he had been on intimate terms with Nicolas Poussin, and Claude had painted for him several years earlier, before his elevation to the Cardinalate, a view of Cumæ and the Bay of Baiæ (L. v. 99), with figures of Apollo and the Cumæan Sibyl in the foreground. The most important work now executed for him was a landscape introducing a sacrificial procession (L. v. 182). This picture was painted in 1673, and there is a study for it, dated the previous year, in the Royal Collection at Windsor.* Another commission (L. v. 184) from Massimo was executed in 1674. It is a singular composition, with a strange opening in the cliffs, and peopled with figures of Perseus, the winged horse, &c. It is now at Holkham.

In many of the works executed at this period, there are painful evidences of Claude's advanced age. The sunshine which formerly irradiated his compositions has given place to a cold pale tone. Frequently, the effects of perspective, light and air, on which his reputation rests, are almost entirely wanting. But it is evident that he did not survive his reputation in his own day. New clients came to the studio up to the latest years of his life. For Prince Altieri, a relative of the reigning pontiff, Clement X., he painted in 1675 a maritime landscape (L. v. 185), in which he was again inspired by Virgil. It represents the scene where Æneas and his companions

"greet with greedy joy the Italian strand."

This picture has had an eventful history. During the period already alluded to in this chapter, when the walls of the Roman palaces were being denuded of some of their chief ornaments, it was purchased by a Mr. Fagan, together with another of

* Engraved in Chamberlaine, No. 50.

Claude's landscapes, from the then head of the Altieri family. The purchaser was not able at once to despatch his treasures to England, but was obliged to conceal them at Naples. At length, he was enabled to forward them on board an English war-ship, but by some mistake they did not reach the person to whom they were consigned. Having been landed at a port in the West of England, they remained for some time unclaimed at the custom-house, and were consequently put up to auction. They did not, however, realise the reserved price, which was only the amount of the duty, and therefore were not sold. This fortunately led to their being claimed by the owner. They were subsequently in the great Beckford Gallery at Fonthill, and are now included among the fine examples of Claude in the Vanderbilt Collection, which were purchased from Sir P. J. Miles of Leigh Court.

In the same year that Claude painted the Altieri picture, he repeated on a smaller scale the *Flight into Egypt* (L. v. 154), executed thirteen years before for an Antwerp patron. This repetition was painted for "Mons. Canse," apparently the apostolic notary designated in the painter's will as one of the guardians of Agnes.

The chief of these late patrons was Cardinal Spada. This ecclesiastic had been employed as papal nuncio in extirpating heresy in Savoy. He had but recently returned to Rome, and received the Cardinal's hat. The first picture painted for him was a landscape with a Scriptural subject, *Philip baptising the Eunuch* (L. v. 191). It is dated 1678, though, by the inscription on the front of the drawing, it would seem as though use had been made of a composition designed six years earlier.

The entry on No. 1 in the 'Liber Veritatis,'

> "*Audi* 10 *dagouto* 1677 *ce présent livre Auparticn a moy que ie faict durant ma vie. Claudio Gillée dit le lorane.*"

plainly shows that the painter was not unconscious that his work was nearly finished, and that it was almost time to lay down the brush. From this inscription, it would seem as if he then formed into a single collection the several books of sketches of his pictures, the completion of one of which he had noted two years before (L. v. 185). In 1679 comes an ominous gap in the record of his works. It is the first year since 1651 to which no picture is assigned. To 1680, two landscapes with different versions of Parnassus and the Muses are credited. One of these (L. v. 193) was the last commission mentioned in the 'Liber Veritatis' for his old patron, the Constable Colonna. In the next year there was a second picture for Cardinal Spada, *Christ's Appearance in the Garden* (L. v. 194), a singular composition introducing Calvary with the three vacant crosses, and the rock-hewn sepulchre. Again Claude seems to have had resort to his stores. There is a sketch of this picture dated some six years before in the Duke of Devonshire's Collection,* and there is another study for it in the British Museum.†

The swan's song of the aged painter would appear to be a drawing, now in the British Museum, of the three columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, opposite the Temple of Vesta in the Forum. This is dated 1682, and shows that he continued to sketch up to the last year of his life, even when his fast waning strength would not allow of his going farther afield than his oft-frequented haunt, the Campo Vaccino. It was in November that the end came. On the 23rd of that month, the notary Vannius was summoned by the two nephews and Agnes to attest the painter's decease. From the legal certificate, it appears that Claude was then residing in a house opposite the Arco de' Greci, having left the Strada Paolina, where he was living in 1656.

* Engraved in Earlom, vol. iii., No. 83.

† Engraved in Lewis, Part III., No. 14.

The will of 1663 gives minute directions as to his obsequies, on which 50 *scudi* are to be expended. He is to be buried in the church of the Trinita de' Monti, to which he leaves two pictures, one by Charles de Lorraine, and provision is made for the celebration of masses there for the repose of his soul. The codicil of 1670 gives further directions. Ten *scudi* are to be given to the poor, and five to his women-servants. That he still had an affectionate remembrance of his native place is shown by his directing fifty masses to be celebrated for the repose of his soul in the parish church of Chamagne. His executors are directed to place a stone over his grave with such inscription as they shall deem proper. This, according to Baldinucci, was as follows:

D. O. M.
Claudio Gellée Lotharingo
Ex loco de Camagne orto
Pictori eximio
Qui ipsos Orientis & Occidentis
Solis radios in campestribus
Mirifice pingendis effinxit
Hic in Urbe ubi artem coluit
Summam laudem inter magnates
Consecutus est
Obiit IX. Kalend. Decembris. 1682.
Ætatis. suæ ann. LXXXII
Joan & Josephus Gellée
Patruo Charissimo Monumentum hoc
Sibi Posterisque suis
poni curaverunt.

When the church was ravaged and ransacked by the French troops in 1798, this inscription disappeared. For several years, the painter's burial-place in front of the chapel of the Santissima Nonziata remained unmarked. At length, during that phase of French feeling which brought back the bones of Napoleon I. from St. Helena, it was determined to remove his remains to

the French national church of San Luigi, near the Pantheon. The re-interment was made the subject of a great function, and was attended by the French Chargé d'Affaires and a crowd of artists then residing in Rome. A monument designed by M. Lemoine, a professor in the Academy of S. Luke, was erected to his memory against the first pillar on the left-hand side of the nave, bearing the following inscription :—

A Claude Gelée dit le Lorrain
peintre français
mort à Rome en MDCLXXXII
et inhumé en l'église
de la Trinité des Monts
la France
a consacré ce monument
Louis Philippe Ier étant roi des Français
A. Thiers ministre de l'intérieur
S. Fay de la Tour-Maubourg
ambassadeur du roi à Rome
MDCCCXXXVI

This was not all that was done to commemorate the painter. The following inscription was subsequently placed in the Church of the Trinità de' Monti to mark his original resting-place :—

Ossa
Clavdii. Gellée. vulgo. Lorensis
inter. principes. galliæ. pictores
jvre. optimo. recensiti
ex. hoc. in. divi. Ludovici. templum
transferenda—curavit
antiqvi. vero. sepvlcri ne. memoria. excideret
neglectus. ve. foret. locus
tanti. viri. cineribus. honestatvs
hvnc. lapidem. posvit. anno. M.D.CCCXL.
Comes. septimivs. de. Fay. de. Latovr-Mavbovrg
Lud. philippi. I. Francorvm regis
ad. S. Sedem. orator

Baldinucci states that Claude's generosity towards his poor

relatives made a considerable diminution in his property. Notwithstanding the long period during which he had been practising at Rome, and the good prices which his works had commanded, the value of his possessions at the time of his death is only estimated at ten thousand *scudi*. From the will, it seems that his property was chiefly invested in *luoghi di monti*, a species of investment created towards the end of the sixteenth century, which was then much used at Rome, and to which modern municipal bonds are most analogous. But besides these investments, he must have been possessed of other property to a considerable amount. Thus the codicil of 1670 bequeaths an additional sum of 500 *scudi* to Agnes, and there is a considerable sum in cash to various legatees. Then there is also the mention of further property "at Rome, or in the country, or in any other place."

Now, as to the division of the painter's estate. A perusal of the will of 1663 and the codicil of 1670, shows that the intentions of the testator are by no means clearly expressed, and that there is room for doubt on several important points. Hence, it is not surprising to learn from M. Charles Blanc that a law-suit arose as to the disposition of the property, which has not yet been terminated. It may here be mentioned that Caracciolo speaks of a descendant of the painter's family who was practising medicine at Rome in 1815. M. Meaume also states that the *maire* of the village of Chamagne in 1871 bore the name of Gellée. And more recently still, M. Michel found at Chamagne two persons bearing the painter's name. As both of them were well advanced in years, and had no children, the extinction of this branch of the family seems probable.

Amongst Claude's belongings, Baldinucci states that he left, besides various separate drawings, six volumes of sketches, one of which was the 'Liber Veritatis.' As has been already said, this was willed to Agnes for life, after which it was to come

THE DRATH OF PROCRIS.

From the drawing No. 100 in the "Liber Veritatis."

to his heirs. For a time it remained in the family, and D'Argenville saw the book in the possession of a niece of the painter. The Cardinal d'Estrées vainly offered any price for it on behalf of Louis XIV. It subsequently came into the hands of a French jeweller, who disposed of it in Holland. At length, about 1770, it was bought by the then Duke of Devonshire, and it is still numbered amongst the treasures of art belonging to the Cavendish family. Through Alderman Boydell, it was reproduced in mezzotint by Richard Earlom, and published towards the end of the last century.

The other volumes of sketches mentioned by Baldinucci cannot be traced. They are the source, doubtless, of most of the drawings by Claude now dispersed in various collections. Of these, the Louvre boasts of twenty-six, the Uffizi of fourteen, the Dresden Gallery of nine, and the Albertine Collection at Vienna of nearly fifty. But it is in England that Claude's sketches can be best studied. The Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Roupell, Mr. Heseltine, and Mr. Malcolm of Poltalloch, each possess more than twenty; and Lord Leicester, Sir F. Leighton, P.R.A., Mr. Seymour Haden, Mr. Poynter, R.A., and Mr. H. Vaughan have some very notable examples. The British Museum, however, far surpasses all collections, public or private. It has a magnificent array of over 270, which were bought *en bloc* at Madrid by a dealer, who sold them for £800 to Mr. Payne Knight. By him they were bequeathed to the Museum. A selection of these drawings, together with others, was engraved by Earlom as a third volume of the 'Liber Veritatis.' Another selection of 100 from the British Museum stores was engraved by F. C. Lewis in 1840, under the title of 'Liber Studiorum of Claude Lorrain.' Recently, the Berlin photographer, Braun, has reproduced a series of sketches selected from several of the above-named collections.

In order to duly appreciate the influence exercised by Claude

on the development of landscape painting, and the inportance of the position he occupies in its history, it must be remembered for how long a period landscape had been merely an accessory of historic painting. The palaces, temples, cities, or rural scenes which formed the environment of the action but slowly received a portion of the attention hitherto bestowed on the figures. In Italian art, the early stages of this development are generally ascribed to two groups of painters: the Venetian School and the Eclectics.

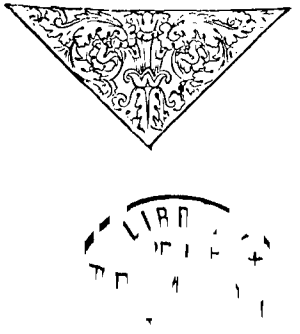
Take first the Venetian School, whose chief, Titian, has been styled the founder of landscape painting. He undoubtedly gave to the landscape greater prominence in his compositions, and treated it with a loftier feeling. Nevertheless, there are only four instances mentioned by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in which he painted landscapes pure and simple.

Then, in the Eclectic School, the Caracci have received the title of "founders of modern landscape." But their reputation is really as figure-painters, and the landscapes which they painted are generally crowded with small figures and buildings, much in the willow-pattern style.

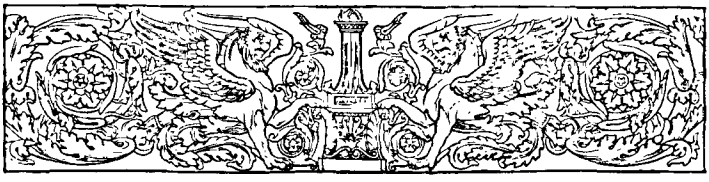
There is, however, another influence apparent in the Eclectics. It is that of the painters who migrated from Flanders to Italy, bringing with them the results of the landscape strivings of Roger van der Weyden, Quentin Matsys, and Patinir. Through the intervention of Tassi, Claude obtained the correctness and perspective of this Flemish school. But the glow of the sun's rays, the feeling of air, the tenderly graduated distances, and the poetical feeling with which he reproduced Italian scenery, are all his own. Working on the foundation laid slowly and timidly by the Venetians, the Eclectics, and the Italianised Flemings, he freed the new branch of art from its subordination to figure painting, and brought it to a maturity which the landscape painters of all schools during

the next hundred and fifty years were unable to develop further. His art was implicitly accepted as a classic model until the present century, and his influence is still apparent in the modern landscapists.

To conclude, Ruskin's scathing criticisms of Claude's shortcomings are well known. But these, by contrast, make his praise more emphatic. Claude's achievements in the matter of light and air are summarised by him as follows, and had he no other claims to fame, they would, alone, amply justify the pre-eminent position which has been accorded to him amongst landscape painters. Ruskin says: "He effected a revolution in art. This revolution consisted mainly in setting the sun in heaven. Till Claude's time, no one had seriously thought of painting the sun but conventionally." And again, he "made the sun his subject, and painted the effects of misty shadows cast by his rays over the landscape, and other delicate aerial transitions, as no one had ever done before, and, in some respects, as no one has done in oil colours since."



APPENDICES.



APPENDIX A.

WILL AND CODICIL OF CLAUDE LE LORRAIN.

1. The Will of 1663.*

In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen. I, Claude Gellée, son of Jean Gellée, of Chamagne in Lorraine, have made this present will sealed and executed as follows:

First, I commend my soul to God and to His Holy Mother, and to my Guardian Angel, and to all the saints in heaven, praying His Divine Majesty to vouchsafe to receive it into the glory of Paradise.

Item, I will that my body be buried in the church of the S^ma^ Trinità de' Monti, and that my executors expend fifty *scudi* on the burial and masses; that they cause to be placed in the said church a stone over my place of burial, with such inscription as shall seem proper to them. They should not expend more than sixty *scudi*.

Item, I bequeath to Agnes the eleven *lochi* † of the *monte di*

* The endorsement states that the will was executed by the painter on the 28th February, 1663, "*mala valetudine oppressus et in lecto jacens timens casus futuræ suæ mortis*," in the presence of Claude Bellin, Burgundian, Dominique Barrière, of Marseilles, and François du Jardin, of the diocese of Lorraine.

† As to these *lochi* or *luoghi di monti*, see page 86.

S. Bonaventura, that is to say, eight in one certificate and three in another "*che cantano*" in my name; she alone shall enjoy the usufruct until she marries or becomes a nun, and if she takes the veil, eight of these obligations may be assigned to the convent where she takes the vows as her dowry; she alone shall enjoy the usufruct of the three others as long as she lives in the said convent, which usufruct, as long as she shall live, she can dispose of according to her pleasure, without claim on the part of the said monastery to any part or participation. If she marries, the eleven obligations before-mentioned may be assigned as her dowry and marriage portion, on condition that if she dies without legitimate and natural children, eight of these eleven obligations revert to my natural heirs; the three others she can dispose of according to her pleasure.

Item, I bequeath to her, besides the eleven *luoghi* of the *monte S. Bonaventura*, the income of three *luoghi* of the *monte Novenale* during her life; afterwards they shall return to Claude Gellée, son of Melchior Gellée.

And, in addition, I bequeath to the aforesaid Agnes an upright picture, painted on the spot by my hand and hung up near my bed, with the *Madonna in the Flight into Egypt*, and a small *Madonna* placed near my bed, copied after Guido; another little picture framed with the Crucifix and St. Bridget, as well as my bed and its tester where I sleep, as well as her truckle bed. Her share shall also include her chest and wardrobe, and my ebony writing desk contained in the little cabinet in my room, and a third part of the furniture. I make her this legacy without conditions, she can dispose of it as she thinks fit, for the great attention which I have received from her.

Item, I declare that the book of designs which I bequeath to the aforesaid Agnes is that which contains one hundred and

thirty-seven (perhaps one hundred and seventy-seven) designs of pictures painted by order of various princes; I bequeath it to her during her life; afterwards it should return to my heirs.

Item, I enjoin that immediately after my death the said Agnes be placed in a convent of her choice, and to this convent should be assigned the income of the aforesaid *luoghi* of *Monte S. Bonaventura*, or the income of eleven other *luoghi di monti* of the same value, if by chance the preceding are liquidated.

Item, I bequeath to Jean Gellée my nephew six *luoghi di monti*, four of *Quattro Restoro*, and two of *Novenale*, and a picture with gilt frame, which represents the *ballo delle quattro nazioni*, and the bed and bedstead in which he sleeps, and a small *Madonna* which is near his bed, copied after Dominichino, and the crucifix which is in the lower room, and besides the strong-box which is in my room; I prohibit my executors from touching it for any reasons other than the certificates of the *luoghi di monti* and the papers relating to my affairs. I also enjoin that the aforesaid strong-box shall be opened in his presence, if he shall then be at Rome, and in the presence of the aforesaid Agnes. [I bequeath to him] besides a small cabinet, to be chosen by him, together with the drawing of S. Nicolo, for the good services which he rendered me while in my house.

Item, I bequeath to Claude Gellée, son of Melchior Gellée, my brother, a picture, a landscape with a gold medal of Pope Innocent, which represents St. Peter opening the gate of Paradise.

Item, I bequeath to the honoured church of the Trinità de' Monti a picture, half size, by the late Carlo Lorenese on canvas, without the frame, and a landscape in water-colours, in two pieces, to decorate the edifice of the Holy Trinity, when the Holy Sacrament passes it.

Item, to the honoured church of St. Nicholas, of the Lorraine

nation, twenty-five *scudi*, and a picture of *Christ going to Emmaus*, a landscape painted from nature.

Item, I bequeath to the honoured church of St. Luke in St. Martin at Rome, ten *scudi*, and a copy of my portrait which is in the lower room.

Item, I bequeath to his eminence the Cardinal Rospiglioso two drawings to be chosen from among my studies, for the good advice which he has always given me.

Item, I bequeath to the very illustrious Monsigr. di Belmonte a little picture on cypress wood, which represents a moonrise (with a gilt frame), the height of a palm, in remembrance of the favours which I and mine have always received from him.

Item, I bequeath to my god-child, Gio. Piomer, six drawings, to be chosen by my executors.

Item, I bequeath to Catherina, daughter of Master Antonio André, tailor, my *compère*, forty *scudi*.

Item, I declare that the name of my family [is] Gellée, although it is written on the certificate of the five *luoghi* of *Monte Novenale, Gillet*, and on that of the eight *luoghi* of *Monte S. Bonaventura, Gillier q. Joannis lothariughi;* in the three others of the aforesaid *monte* it is written *Gillier*, and on the certificate of the four of *monte Restoro, Gellée*, and on two other certificates "*che cantano*" belonging to me of five *luoghi* "*per uno*" of *monte Restoro*, it is written on both *Gellée q. Joannis lothariughi.* This is entirely my fault, and that of the secretaries, who, despite my observations, have always placed me on the list, and paid the income of these *luoghi* under the name of *Gillée;* in my native tongue, this name is the same as *Gellée*, as my brothers have always written it.

Item, I bequeath to Sig. Renato della Borna, apostolic notary, a picture executed in the country with the Angel and Hagar.

Item, I bequeath to Sig. Francesco Canser, a picture with a flock, in a square frame, gilded.

And, of all my possessions, furniture and real estate, present and future, and of all my rights, no matter of what kind, concerning and belonging to me, I make and institute as usufructuary heirs, and name of my own mouth Signori Dionisio and Melchiorre Gellée, my brothers of father and mother, and name and make them heirs and owners of all my property which is or shall be at Rome or in the country, or in any other place, and in the case of the death of one or the other, or of both, I appoint and declare their sons my heirs with full power to dispose of all my possessions.

I choose and designate as executors and as guardians and trustees of the aforesaid Agnes the aforesaid Signori Renato della Borna and Francesco Canser, apostolic notaries, if these persons shall still be living and at Rome; if they should be dead or absent from Rome, I choose and designate the first who shall be "pro tempore" rector of the aforesaid church of the congregation of Lorraine at Rome, with the usual powers, and a picture to be chosen by himself.

Item, I state and declare that the aforesaid Agnes is a little girl now nearly eleven years old, as the certificate of baptism testifies, living with me and brought up in my house (where she now lives) in charity.

I, CLAUDE GELLÉE, have willed as above.

MARINUS FRANCISCUS VANNIUS,
Curie Capitoline notarius.

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2. The Codicil of 1670.*

I, the undersigned, Claude Gellée, son of Jean, of Chamagne, in Lorraine, after having made my will, signed, sealed, and deposited with the Signor Francesco Marchetti, capitoline notary, on the 28th February, 1663, *o altro più nero tempo*, I now also make the undermentioned codicils, as follows, namely:

First, I confirm the legacy made to Agnes, my little girl (*mia zitella*), grown up and educated in my house, of the eleven *luoghi di monte di S. Bonaventura* as it is specified in the said will; I will, in case they should be either alienated or redeemed, that she be given the value of them, and I bequeath to her, besides, five hundred *scudi* in cash, as well as a gold medal of Pope Urban, which represents Monte Cavallo, a gold chain of the value of ten *scudi*, and a ring with a diamond mounted in gold.

Item, I bequeath to Jean Gellée, my nephew, a gold medal of Pope Urban, which represents the *Baptism of Constantine*, a chain, and a ring with three small diamonds.

Item, I enjoin and will that all the property which I have disposed of in my will, and which should have been divided into three parts, shall be divided into four parts; the fourth

* The endorsement is as follows:—

'23rd November, 1682.

'I, notary public, on the urgent and duly-made request of M. M. Jean 'Gellée, Joseph Gellée, and Agnes Gellée, repaired to the ordinary abode 'of M. Claude Gellée, situated at Rome opposite the Arco de Greci, having 'arrived at which aforesaid house, I entered and went to the apartment 'on the first story, in which apartment M. Claude lived, and in the first 'chamber of which I saw the aforesaid M. Claude Gellée dead, and his 'body laid out on a table in the aforesaid room. I, the notary, and the 'undersigned witnesses, having perfectly recognised his corpse, pass to the 'opening of a codicil of Gellée, made the 25th June, 1670, to be read at 'his death. When he made it he was ill, and for this reason he had his 'wishes written by others, nevertheless signing them himself.'

part shall be given to my nephew, Jean Gellée, who is now in my house.

Item, I will that the two gold medals of Pope Innocent, representing St. Peter with the keys, struck in the year of the jubilee, one shall be given to Jean Gellée, and the other to Claude Gellée, sons of Marie Melchior Gellée of Chamagne.

Item, I bequeath to all my aforesaid nephews, to each twenty-five *scudi*, that is to say, to Jean and Claude Gellée, sons of the aforesaid Marie Melchior.

Item, I bequeath to each of the three daughters of the aforesaid Marie Melchior twenty *scudi*.

Item, I bequeath to the children, male or female, born or to be born, of my niece Anne Gellée, twenty-five *scudi* between them.

Item, I bequeath a *Madonna*, copied by Signor Francesco Raguso, after Guido, of Bologna, to my god-daughter, the wife of Signor Gio. Giorgio Alardino, carrier.

Item, I will that on the day of my death ten *scudi* shall be distributed to the poor as alms, and that five *scudi* in cash shall be given to the women who shall be in my service at the time of my death.

Item, I enjoin and will that my heirs named in my will shall be bound to have celebrated in the church of St. Denys at Chamagne, my native place, fifty masses for the salvation of my soul, within eight days of the news of my death.

Item, I state and declare that if there be found in my house after my death any writing in my hand concerning a will or other dispositions or last wishes it should be considered null and void. Only the aforesaid will and the present codicils, &c., are valid.

I, CLAUDIO GELLÉE, have made these codicils.

MARINUS FRANCISCUS VANNIUS,

Notarius capitolinus, successor Marchetti

APPENDIX B.

THE "LIBER VERITATIS."

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
1.	View near the Campo Vaccino, Rome.	At the back on a sheet of paper stuck to the drawing :— *Audi* 10 *dagouto* 1677 *ce présent livre Auparlien à moy que ie faict durant ma vie. Claudio Gillée dit le lorane A Roma ce* 23 *avril* 1680. Underneath this paper is apparently the following inscription:— *Pour le Cav. Saracino. Claudio fecit in V. R.*	Lord Cathcart, Thornton-le-street. A Replica formerly belonged to Mr. Hickey.
2.	Seaport.	1678 *Romæ Claudio Gellee. A moy.*	(1) Lord Mount Temple. (2) Vanderbilt Collection.
3.	Landscape: "The Robbers."	*Claudio fecit in VR.* faict pour Paris à Rome.*	
4.	Seaport; "The Merchants." Etched by Claude: App. D, No. 11.	*Faict pour Paris. Claudio fecit in VR.*	

* The words "*Claudio fecit in VR.*" are not apparently in the same handwriting as that of the painter. They are continued on all the drawings up to No. 112.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
5.	Seaport: Workmen raising planks. Etched by Claude: App. D, No. 15.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Faict pour monseigneur l'auec du Maut.* At the top of the page:— *Il presente disigne io lo facto il quadro per Ill. Sig^re. francesco Mayer consiglier di S.A. elettoral di Bauiera. l'ano 1674 a Roma questo Juglio. Claudio Gillée fecit.*	(1) Hermitage, St. Petersburg. (2) Pinakothek, Munich. (3) Lord Yarborough. (4) Hampton Court (doubtful).
6.	Seaport.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. fait pour Paris.*	In 1837 belonged to Mr. A. McLellan of Glasgow. The McLellan Collection is now included in the Glasgow Corporation Galleries, but the Claudes have been eliminated as spurious.
7.	Landscape: View from Tivoli.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour Paris.*	
8.	Landscape: A Ford.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour Paris.*	In 1741 belonged to Dr. Mead, when it was engraved by Vivares.
9.	Seaport: "The porcelain dealers."	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour Monsig^r. l'anbasadeur de france mons^r. de betune Roma.*	Louvre, Paris.
10.	View of Campo Vaccino, Rome. Etched by Claude: App. D, No. 23.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Faict pour Mos^re. l'anbassadeur de france m^re. de betune Roma.*	(1) Louvre, Paris. (2) Dulwich Gallery (doubtful).
11.	Landscape: The piping Herdsman.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour un ligeois a Roma a la feonterie.*	In 1856 sold at the sale of S Rogers, the poet, for 660 guineas.
12.	Landscape (octagonal).	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour Napoli.*	
13.	Landscape: "La fête villageoise."	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour la S^te. de ppa Vrbano^t.* (This is repeated twice in Claude's handwriting.)	(1) Louvre, Paris. (2) Lord Yarborough (with variations).

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Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
14.	Seaport: "The Combatants." (The reverse, with variations, of design No. 28.)	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour Sa Saint^e. de ppa Vrbano. fato ppa urbano.*	(1) Louvre, Paris. (2) Duke of Northumberland.
15.	Landscape: "The piping Herdsman."	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour Sig^r. Mons^r. Ruspiose Roma.*	
16.	Landscape: Travellers taking their repast.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour M. Peroche paris.*	
17.	Seaport: Three men lifting packages. Etched by Claude: App. D, No. 13.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour paris a Roma.*	Grenoble Museum.
18.	Landscape: Man and Woman driving cattle to pasture.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour paris.*	Duke of Portland.
19.	Seaport.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour M. Peroche A paris.*	
20.	Landscape: Women driving Cattle.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour paris.*	In 1813 was sold with collection of Mr. W. Willett.
21.	Landscape: "The Wood-splitters."	*Claudio fecit in VR. Napoli.*	Sold at Danoot sale in Brussels in 1828. A replica belonged to Lord Trevor in 1767.
22.	Landscape: Peasant milking a Goat.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Napo.*	In possession of Mr. Woodburn in 1837.
23.	Landscape: The piping Shepherd.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour Mr. Guefie.*	In 1837 in possession of Earl of Leitrim.
24.	Landscape: "The Sportsmen." Claude drawing.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Napoli.*	

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
25.	Landscape near Tivoli: "The Pastoral Musicians."	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour Mr. Guefie.*	Mr. Holford.
26.	Landscape: Conflict on a bridge, and sea in distance.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Paris pr. . . . . .*	Was in possession of Mr. C. O. Bowles in 1837.
27.	Seaport.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Pour le secrtaire du marquis Queu.*	
28.	Seaport introducing the Villa Medici. (The reverse, with variations, of design No. 14.)	*Claudio fecit in VR. Per il serenissimo Cardinale de Medicis.*	Florence Gallery.
29.	Seaport.	*Claudio fecit in VR. per Turino.*	
30.	Seaport.	*Claudio fecit in VR.*	
31.	Seaport.	*Claudio fecit in VR. per le min^me. Sig^r. Cardinale Giorio.*	Marquis of Bute.
32.	Ruins: Temptation of St. Anthony, moonlight.	*Claudio fecit in VR. per il re di spagna.*	Royal Museum, Madrid.
33.	Sea-piece: "The Shipwreck." Etched by Claude: App. D, No. 7.	*Claudio fecit in VR. per le^mo. sig duc di Braciano.*	
34.	Landscape: Peasants attacked by Banditti.	*Claudio fecit in VR. per leminentissimo Cardinale Rospioglo. . . .*	Sold at Lord Mulgrave's sale in 1832, and bought by Mr. Shepperson.
35.	Landscape: Castel Gandolfo and Lake Albano.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. faict per papa Vrbano.*	Barberini Palace, Rome.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
36.	Landscape: Herdsmen listening to a Piper.	*Claudio fecit in VR. pe La. . . . .*	
37.	Landscape: Hunting party. Apparently a study for the figures in No. 46.	*Claudio fecit in VR.*	
38.	Landscape: Flight into Egypt.	*Claudio fecit in VR. per il Cardinale Giori.*	Formerly said to have been in Doria Palace, Rome. Duplicates are also said to have been in possession of Dr. Bragg, and to have been sold at Clos sale at Paris in 1812.
39.	Landscape: "The Bagpiper."	*Claudio fecit in VR. per Nicolo Cause.*	
40.	Landscape: Sportsmenhalting.	*Claudio fecit in VR. per Mr. Daby de Grenoble.*	Sold at Proley sale in 1787.
41.	Landscape: Herdsmen in conversation.	*Claudio fecit in VR. per Napoli.*	
42.	Landscape: Shepherdess listening to piping herdsman.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadr. fait pour paris.* (Different handwriting.)	
43.	Seaport.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadr. faict par Il^mo. sig Cardinale Glorio.*	National Gallery, London.
44.	Landscape: Claude drawing. Etched by Claude: App. D, No. 9.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per Mr. Perochet.*	Lord Northbrook.
45.	Landscape: Marsyas flayed by order of Apollo.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per Mr. Perochet.*	Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
46.	Landscape, with port of Marinella: Hunting party.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per pp Vrbano S^ta. Marinelle.*	Formerly at Barberini Palace, Rome.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
47.	Landscape: Finding of Moses.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro per il re di Spagna.*	Royal Museum, Madrid.
48.	View in Rome: Burial of S^ta^. Sabina.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per il re di Spagna.*	Royal Museum, Madrid.
49.	Seaport: Embarkation of S^ta^. Paula. (Variation of No. 61.)	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per il re di Spagna.*	(1) Royal Museum, Madrid. (2) Dulwich Gallery (?) (3) Duke of Wellington, Apsley House. (?) (4) Earl of Portarlington. (?) (See No. 61.)
50.	Landscape: Tobias and the Angel.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per il re di Spagna.*	Royal Museum, Madrid.
51.	Delivery of St. Peter out of prison	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro per il E^mo^. Sig Cardinale Giore.*	
52.	Landscape: Cattle crossing wooden bridge. Etched by Claude: App. D, No. 14.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro per il E^mo^. Sig Cardinale Giore.*	Lord Ashburton.
53.	Landscape with distant sea: "Rustic music."	*Claudio fecit in VR Quadro per pietro pescatore.*	Duke of Bedford.
54.	Seaport: Embarkation of St. Ursula.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadre faict pour l'em^no^. Cardinale poli, si ritrova dal l'emi^mo^. Cardinale Barberino.*	National Gallery, London.
55.	Landscape: Nymph and Satyr dancing.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict per Venetia.*	Lord Bateman.
56.	Landscape: Judgment of Paris. (?)	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadre faict pour paris.*	

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
57.	Landscape: Diana and Actæon	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro fait pour paris. Mr. Tardif.*	
58.	Landscape: "The Vintage."	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour paris.*	Dulwich Gallery.
59.	Landscape: Moonlight, Peasants lighting a fire.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour paris.*	
60.	Landscape: Flight into Egypt.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour Mr. Tardiffe.*	
61.	Seaport: Embarkation of S^ta. Paula. (Variation of No. 49.)	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro pour Mon^r. de Lonchaine.*	(1) Dulwich Gallery (?) (2) Duke of Wellington. (?) (3) Lord Portarlington. (?) (See No. 49.)
62.	Landscape: Vicinity of Tivoli, with Temple of Sibyl.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro pour Mon^r. de Lonchaine.*	
63.	Seaport: Disembarkation of Cleopatra at Tarsus.	*Claudio fecit inv. R. Quadro faict pour il cardinale Giore.*	Louvre, Paris.
64.	Landscape: "The Arcadian Shepherds," or Mercury and Aglauros.	*Claudio Gillee in VR. Quadre faict pour Paris.*	Museum, Berlin.
65.	Landscape: Tobit and the Angel.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadre faict pour Paris.*	Sold at the Blondel de Gagny sale in 1776.
66.	Landscape: Flight into Egypt.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour Amsterdama.*	

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
67.	Landscape: Heights of Tivoli and Temple of the Sibyl.	*Claudio fecit in VR Robert Gayer.* (Probably another handwriting.)	Lord Leconfield, Petworth House.
68.	Landscape: Fishing in a River.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour Mr. de Lonchaine.*	
69.	Landscape: Samuel anointing David King.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour lemin^mo^. Sig Cardinale Giore.*	Louvre, Paris.
70.	Landscape, with seaport: Aglauros, Herse, and Mercury.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per Ill^mo^ Sig Mon^r^. Rospiglioso pp* 1668 *Aglaura che dimanda a Mercuriogran somma di danari per lasciar goder lamore della sorelle chiamata herse. Favola cavata nell' annotasione del seconde libri di Ovidio.*	
71.	Marine view: Trojan women burning the ships.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro fecit per il Sig^r^. Gieronimo fancse.*	Mr. A. J. Robarts.
72.	Sea-piece: Shipwreck.	*Claudio fecit in VR.*	
73.	Landscape: St. George and the Dragon, or Bellerophon and the Chimæra.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict per il Cardinale poli si ritrova dal Cardinale Antonio.*	Last known possessor was Mr. W. Beckford.
74.	Marine view: Storm.	*Claudio fecit in VR.*	
75.	Landscape: Two herdsmen and numerous flock.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour Anuerce.*	

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
76.	Landscape: Jupiter and Calisto.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro per Roma.*	
77.	Landscape: Narcissus and Echo.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour Angleter.*	National Gallery, London.
78.	Landscape: Priests Sacrificing.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour Angleter.*	Mr. Holford.
79.	Landscape: Heights of Tivoli and Temple of the Sibyl.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. tablaux faict pour Mr. Passar.*	Grenoble Museum.
80.	Seaport: Ulysses restoring Chryseis to Chryses.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. Taublaux faict pour le prince de Leancourt.*	Louvre, Paris.
81.	Landscape: A Ford.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. Taublaux pour paris.*	
82.	Landscape: "Decline of the Roman Empire."	*Claudio fecit in V.R. Lebrun.* (The last name in a different hand.)	Earl of Radnor.
83.	Landscape: Cattle fording a stream.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. Claudio I. V. F. Rome. per il Sig. Gabriel Terense.*	Windsor Castle.
84.	Landscape.	*Claudio fecit in V.*	Said to have been in possession of Duke of Marlborough, but could not be traced in 1862. (See Scharf's Catalogue.) It is not identical with either of the Claudes sold at the Blenheim sale in 1886.
85.	Landscape: A Ford. Variation of No. 176. Etched by Claude: App. D, No. 8.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per Roma.*	

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
86.	Landscape: Argus and Io.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per ill^mo. Sigr. monsciyneur de Masso.*	Earl of Leicester, Holkham.
87.	Landscape. Etched by Claude, with variations, App. D. No. 21.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per il sig Terence Roma.*	Earl of Northbrook.
88.	Landscape: Flight into Egypt.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per ill^mo Conte Cresence.*	Duke of Devonshire.
89.	Landscape: View of Tivoli.	*Claudio fecit in VR. tablaux faict pour monsieur passar.*	H. M., Windsor Castle.
90.	Landscape: Ponte Molle.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro pour Paris.*	Sold at Lord Ashburnham's sale in 1850.
91.	Landscape: Reconciliation of Cephalus and Procris.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Qvadro pour Paris.*	National Gallery, London.
92.	Landscape: Mercury stealing the Cattle of Admetus.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour le prince Panfille.*	Doria Palace, Rome.
93.	Landscape: Shepherd teaching Shepherdess to Pipe.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour M^r Fontenay.*	In 1837 in possession of Mr. W. Lloyd.
94.	Landscape: Judgment of Paris.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour M^r Fontenay.*	Duke of Buccleuch.
95.	Landscape: Apollo and Marsyas.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro pour labbé Joly.*	Earl of Leicester, Holkham.
96.	Seaport.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro pour Paris.*	Louvre, Paris.
97.	Landscape: St. John Baptist.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour monsieur Ganoer.*	Lord Methuen.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
98.	Landscape: Herdsman and Cattle.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. Quadro per il Sigr. Giouano felice.*	
99.	Landscape with marine view: Apollo and the Cumæan Sibyl.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. Quadro faicte per ill^mo. monsg. di massimo.*	Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
100.	Landscape: Death of Procris.	*Claudio fecit in V.R.*	National Gallery, London.
101.	Landscape: Herdsman and Cattle.	*Claudio fecit in V.R.*	(1) Lord Ellesmere. (2) Palazzo Reale, Turin (with variations).
102.	Landscape: The Falls of Tivoli.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. faict pour M^r. . . . . (?)*	Sold by Mr. Stanley in 1830.
103.	Landscape: A Ford.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. Quadro faict pour Avignon.*	Rev. J. Staniforth.
104.	Landscape: Rustic Music.	*Claudio fecit in V.R. Quadro faict pour Avignon.*	Mr. A. Buckley.
105.	Landscape.	*Faict pour Paris.*	
106.	Landscape: The Annunciation, or Hagar and the Angel.	*Claudio fecit in VR. faict pour Paris.*	National Gallery, London.
107.	Landscape: A Ford. Variation of No. 189.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict per principe panfilo.*	National Gallery, Pesth.
108.	Landscape: Satyrs and Nymphs Dancing, or Marriage of Pan and Flora.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict pour Mr. dufourt.*	In 1837 in possession of Sir T. Frankland.
109.	Landscape: A Ford.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Tablaux faict pour lions.*	In 1837 in possession of Lord Farnborough.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
110.	Landscape: Flight into Egypt.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro pour Mr. Parasson a Lions.*	Royal Gallery, Dresden. In 1837 a replica was in possession of Mr. T. Hope.
111.	Marine View: Rape of Europa.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Tablaux faict pour paris.*	Formerly in possession of Sir Joshua Reynolds.
112.	Landscape.	*Claudio fecit in VR. Quadro faict por il sigr. Angelino.* *Claudio fesit* 1647.	
113.	Landscape: Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, or "The Mill."	*Claudio inv Roma quadro faict por il excellentmo sigr principe Panfil.*	(1) Doria Palace, Rome. (2) National Gallery, London.
114.	Seaport: Embarkation of Queen of Sheba.	*Claudio Gilee Roma faict pour le duc de Boulon.*	National Gallery, London.
115.	Landscape with the Arch of Constantine: Claude drawing.	*Claudio inv. Roma faict pour monsieur periez.*	Duke of Westminster.
116.	Landscape.	*Claudio Gillee Roma* 1648 *faict pour il sigr. Verdummisne principe tolesche.*	In 1837 was in possession of Capt. Barrett, Lee Priory.
117.	Landscape: "The Ford."	*Claudio Roma* 1648 *faict pour monsig de Leancourt portato à Paris par monsieur*	Louvre, Paris.
118.	Landscape, with solitary herdsman and castellated edifice.	*Claudio ivf. faict per illmo sig monsignor di Masso.*	
119.	Landscape: Temple of Apollo at Delos.	*Il principe panfile, Claude.*	Doria Palace, Rome.
120.	Seaport: Embarkation of St. Paulinus.	*Claudio ivf Cardinalle Cequin.*	Louvre, Paris.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
121.	Landscape:	*Amstradam Claudio.*	
122.	Seaport: Landing of Æneas in Italy. "Rise of Roman Empire."	*Paris Claudio fecit.*	Earl of Radnor.
123.	Landscape with broad river and water-mill.	*Claudio IVF. ils^r Lorette.*	Lord Northbrook.
124.	Landscape: Shepherdess Piping.	*Claudio G. IVF. Ils^r Verdummille todcsseche.*	Duke of Westminster.
125.	Landscape: The Journey to Emmaus.	*Claudio IVF* 1652 *Roma M^r Laborna.*	
126.	Landscape: Mount Parnassus and the Muses.	*Claudio IVF* 1652 *il cardinale Panfile porto a monte Cavalo.*	Duke of Devonshire.
127.	Landscape with bridge and ruins of a temple.	*Claudio fv Quadro faict por Napoli.*	
128.	Landscape: Mercury and Battus.	*Claudio f.v. Roma* 1657 *IVR faict pour M^r Mielien* (Cardinal Mellin).	Duke of Devonshire.
129.	Landscape: The Worship of the Golden Calf.	*Claudio f.v. Roma* 1653 *IV facit per ill^mo sig Carlo Cardello.*	Duke of Westminster.
130.	Marine View: Claude drawing.	*Claudio f.v. Roma Quadro faict M^r Elis.*	
131.	Landscape: Mercury and Battus.	*Claudio fv Roma* 1654 *faict pour M^r Mierette.*	Duke of Devonshire.
132.	Marine View: Abduction of Helen.	*Claudio f. Roma* 1655 *IVF faict per ill^mo sig. Carlo Cardello.*	Marquis of Lansdowne.
133.	Landscape: Hagar and the Angel.	*Claudio f. Roma* 1654 *IVF. facit per il sig^r Augustino Bayiano.*	Lord Yarborough.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
134.	Landscape: Jacob bargaining for Rachel.	1655 *Roma Claudio F. VIVF. per ille^mo sig Cardelle.*	Lord Leconfield.
135.	Landscape: Mercury and Admetus.	*Claudio fv. IVF.* 1655 *faict ill^mo sig^r frenessio.*	Lord Leicester.
136.	Marine View: Rape of Europa. Etched by Claude: App. D. No. 22.	*facit sig Ill^mo Cardinale. . creato pero giusto papa Claudio. . . . .*	(1) Prince Issoupoff. (2) H. M., Buckingham Palace.
137.	Landscape: Fight on a Bridge.	*faict pp. Alexandro Claudio fecit in V.R.*	Prince Issoupoff.
138.	Landscape: The Sermon on the Mount.	*Monte tabor Claudio F. in V.R.* 1656 *faict pour monsiere de Monpiglier.*	Duke of Westminster.
139.	Landscape with marine view: Ariadne and Bacchus, or Ulysses and Nausicaa.	*Claudio Gillée f. Roma* 1658. *faict per ill^mo freneso Alberici.*	Bought at Hamilton Sale in 1882 by Mr. Arnot.
140.	Landscape with marine view: The Angel and Hagar.	*Claudio IV Roma* 1656 *faict pour M^r Vinot.*	In 1804 was sold with collection of Mr M. Brian.
141.	Landscape with marine view: Polyphemus, Acis, and Galatea.	*Claudio Gellee IVF Roma* 1657 *faict pour M^r Delagard.*	Royal Gallery, Dresden.
142.	Landscape: Metamorphosis of the Apulian Shepherd.	*Claudio Gelle* 1657 *IVF Roma Quadro faict pour M^r Delagard.*	Lord Ellesmere.
143.	Landscape: Judgment of Paris, or the Ark of Noah.	*Claudio Gille IV Roma* 1658 *faict pour M^r Courtois Roma.*	

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
144.	Marine View: Rape of Europa.	*Claudio Gillee IVF Roma* 1658 *faict pour Mr Courtois.*	Mr. Morrison.
145.	Landscape: Sinon brought before Priam, or David at the Cave of Adullam.	*Claudio Gellée tablaux faict pour il Principe don Agostino l'ano* 1658.	National Gallery, London.
146.	Landscape: Esther.	*Quadro faict por l'avecque de montpelier Claudio invenit Roma* 1662.	
147.	Landscape: Jacob bargaining with Laban for Rachel.	*Claudio IVF* 1659 *quadre faict pour Mr Delamart.*	Lord Northbrook.
148.	Landscape: The Worship of the Golden Calf.	*Au dy* 3 *Febraio* 1659 *faict pour M. Gessly invers.*	Mr. J. Morrison.
149.	Landscape: Juno committing Io to care of Argus.	*Claudio IV Roma* 1660 *faict pour Mr Danton.*	In 1837 was in possession of Mr. Hanbury Tracy.
150.	Landscape: Mercury and Argus. Etched with variations by Claude: App. D. No. 17.	*Claude Gelle IVF* 1659 *Roma faict pour M. Bosout.*	Sold in 1881 at Sackville Bale Sale.
151.	Landscape: The Journey to Emmaus.	*Quadro pour Mr Daunton. Claude Gellee inv fecit.*	Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
152.	Landscape: Piping Herdsman and Goats.	*Quadro faict per il sig^{r} Beural. Claude fecit IV.*	In 1837 was on sale at Yates' Gallery.
153.	Landscape: "The Decline of the Roman Empire." (Repetition of No. 82.)	1661 *Claudio IV fecit pour Mr le Brun Roma.*	Duke of Westminster.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
154.	Landscape: The Flight into Egypt.	1661 *Claudio Gillée inv fecit pour Anvers. . . . . Roma.* *Claudio Au dy* 6 *Mars* 1675 *io fatto le meme a mons Canse en petit toile.*	Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
155.	Landscape: Piping Herdsman and Goats.	1661 *Claud IV fecit pour Mr Maldonald Roma.*	
156.	Landscape: Herdsman Driving Cattle to a River.	*Faict per il sigr Bonlei Claudio fecit Roma* 1661 *settembre,* 1.	
157.	Landscape: Sacrifice to Apollo.	*Quadro faict per il sig Angelino Angelino Claudio IVF Roma.*	Vanderbilt Collection.
158.	Landscape: Flight into Egypt.	*Audi* 26 *frebrare* 1663 *a questo mio libro si ritrovano cento e cinquanto sette disigne di mano mio. questo di suditte faict per lexcellemo Contestable Colona. Claudio Gillée manra in Roma.*	(1) Mr. R. Williams. (2) Duke of Rutland. (3) Lord Ashburton.
159.	Landscape: Mercury and Battus.	*Au dy* 26 *May* 1663 *Claude fecit Roma e pour Anvers.*	Duke of Devonshire.
160.	Landscape: Tobit and the Angel.	*Quadro faict per il illmo sigre Dalmalaye in Anuers. Claudio Gilée inv fecit Roma* 1663.	Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
161.	Landscape: Moses and the Burning Bush.	*Ce tableau faict pour l'illmo monsigneur de Bourlamont Claudio Gillée fecit roma* 1664.	Lord Ellesmere.
162.	Landscape: Psyche, "The Enchanted Castle."	*Faict Illmo sigr il sigr Contestable Colonna a Roma* 1664 *Claude Gellé inv fecit.*	Lord Wantage.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
163.	Landscape: Cephalus and Procris.	*Taublaux faict pour monsignour de Bourle Claude fecit* 1665.	Doria Palace, Rome. In 1779 a replica was in possession of Lord Clive.
164.	Landscape: Apollo and the Cumæan Sibyl.	*Taublaux faict pour monsignour de Bourle Claude fecit* 1665.	(1) Earl of Leicester. (2) Duke of Rutland.
165.	Marine view: The Call of SS. Andrew and Peter.	*Quadro faict per cicile por . . . . . .* 1665 *Claudio fecit.*	
166.	Landscape: Erminia and the Shepherd (Tasso).	*Quadro faict per Ill^mo sigr Falconier Claudio Gellee* 1666 *invent et fecit.*	In 1777 was in possession of Mr. Davenant.
167.	Landscape: Cupid and Psyche.	*Quadro faict per Ill^mo sig^r Contestable Colonna Claudio Gillée inventore* 1666.	In 1857 was exhibited by Mr. F. Perkins at Manchester.
168.	Marine view: Carlo and Ubaldo (Tasso).	*Faict pour ill^mo sig^r Falconier Claudio inventore* 1667.	In 1857 was exhibited by Mr. W. Moseley at Manchester.
169.	Landscape: Jacob and Rachel at the Well, "The Noon of Day."	*Faict pour Anvers Claudio Gillée inventore fecit Roma* 1667.	Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
170.	Landscape: Mercury and Battus.	1666 *faict pour M^r Burn. . . . . Claude Gillée dit le loraine.*	In 1837 was in possession of Rev. W. Tower.
171.	Marine view: Demosthenes on the Sea-shore. (Same landscape as No 200.)	1667 *Claudio inv fecit Roma per Ill^mo monsig^r di Bourlumont.*	Earl of Ellesmere.
172.	Landscape: Shepherd Piping and Goats.	1667. *A Roma Claudio Gillée inventore fecit per Palerma.*	Lord Northbrook.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
173.	Landscape: The Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael.	*Claudio Gillée inventore fecit in Roma* 1668. *Quadro facto per ill^mo monsig^r le conte Waldestain.*	Pinakothek, Munich.
174.	Landscape with GrottoofPosilippo: Hagar, Ishmael, and the Angel.	*Claudio Gilee fecit in Roma per Ill^mo signor monsig^r le Conte Waldestain* 1668.	(1) Pinakothek, Munich. (2) Duke of Rutland.
175.	Landscape: Diana and her Nymphs Reposing, or Egeria and her Nymphs.	1669 *quadro facto per Ill^mo Sig^r Contestable Colona Claude.*	Royal Museum, Naples.
176.	Landscape: The Ford. (Variation of No. 85. Etched by Claude: App. D. No. 8.)	*Quadro faicto per ill^mo Sig^r Franso Mayer consigliere Ratisborna* 1670. *le même taublaux a estey faict pour monsieur Fache que j'ay faict François Roma* 1672 *Roma* 29 *aprile.*	(1) Pinakothek, Munich. (2) Vanderbilt Collection.
177.	Landscape: Old Man with Woman and Chil' listening to Piping Shepherd.	*Quadro faict per Danemarco io Claudio il sig Bernis a Roma* 1671.	
178.	Landscape: The Sacrifice, or the Temple of Venus.	*Quadro faicto per Ill^mo Sig^r Contestable Collonna IV fecit Roma Claudio* 1672.	Rospigliosi Palace, Rome.
179.	Landscape with marine view: Anchises and Æneas at Delos.	*tablaux faict pour Monsieur Dupassy le gout Roma Claudio IVF.*	National Gallery, London.
180.	Landscape with marine view and Grotto of Posilippo: Æneas Shooting Deer.	*Quadro faict per Ill^mo sig^r il sig^r paualo Francesque Falconier Roma* 1672. . .	Museum, Brussels.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
181.	Landscape: Jacob wrestling with the Angel, "Night."	*Tablaux faict per Ill^mo il sig^r Henri Halma Evesque d'ypre. Roma* 1672 *Decembre Claudio.*	Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
182.	Landscape: The Sacrifice.	*Quadro faict per il Em^mo e Rev^mo Sig^r Cardinale camillo Massimo a Roma* 1673 *Claudio fecit IV.*	In 1777 was in possession of Mr. Edwin.
183.	Landscape: Cumæan Sibyl conducting Æneas to the Shades.	*Quadro fatto per Ill^mo sig^r paulo Francesco Falconier Claudio IV Roma* 1673.	In 1837 was for sale at Yates' Gallery.
184.	Landscape with marine view, and Grotto of Posilippo: Perseus.	*Quadro per l'Emi^mo et Rev^mo Cardinale Massimo Claudio Gillée fecit Roma* 1674.	Earl of Leicester.
185.	Landscape with marine view: Landing of Æneas in Italy.	*Quadro facto per Ill^mo Eccell^mo Sig^re principe Don Gasparo Altier, Claudio Gillée inv fecit. Jay finij ce present livre ce iourdhuy* 25 *du mois de mars* 1675 *Roma.* At the foot of the drawing is:— *Libro* 8 *de Vi gilio fo.* 231.	Vanderbilt Collection.
186.	Seaport: Dido and Æneas at Carthage.	*Quadro facto per Ill^mo et Eccell^mo Sig^re Contestabile Collonna. Claudio Gillée Roma* 1676 *in v. f.*	Sold at Erard sale in 1855.
187.	Landscape: Flight into Egypt.	*Quadro facto per Ill^mo Sig^r Mutio Massimi Roma* 1676.	Earl of Leicester.
188.	Landscape: Jacob and Laban.	*Quadro facto per Ill^mo Sig^r Francesce Mayer di Ottobre* 12. 1676 *Roma. Claudio Gillée in v F.*	Dulwich Gallery.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
189.	Landscape: A Ford. Variation of No. 107.	*Quadro facto per Monsieur l'abbe Chevalier a Roma ce 14 mars 1677. Claudio Gillée fecit.*	
190.	Landscape: Shepherds and Shepherdesses conversing, Temple of the Sibyl, Ponte Mola, &c. in distance.	*Quadro facto per Ill^mo et eccel^mo Sig^r Contestable Collona. Claudio Gellée Roma* 1677.	
191.	Landscape: Philip baptizing the Eunuch.	*Quadro facto per l'Em^mo Sig^r Cardinale Spado* 1678 . . . . . On front is:— *S. Philippo batt . . . della Regina Claudio inv* 1672.	Mr. W. B. Beaumont.
192.	Landscape: Mercury and Battus.	*Quadro faicto per Ill^mo e reverend^mo Sig^r Monsig^r di Bourlemont Roma* 18 *di Juglio* 1678. On front:— *Roma* 1678.	
193.	Landscape: Parnassus and the Muses.	On front:— *Roma* 1681 *Claudio IV.* At back:— *Quadro facto per Ill^mo Sig^r il Sig^r Contestabile Collonna* 1680.	In 1827 was sold by Mr. Stanley.
194.	Landscape: Christ's appearance in the Garden.	On front:— 1681 *Claudio IV.* At back:— *Quadro facto per l'Em^mo et Rev^mo il Sig. Cardinal Spada A Roma Claudio.*	Formerly in Beckford Collection.
195.	Landscape: Parnassus and the Muses.	*Claud F. Rom* 1680.	Sold at Lapeyrie Sale in 1824.

Number.	Description of drawing.	Claude's inscription on the drawing.	Present possessor of picture corresponding to drawing.
196.	Landscape: Erminia and the old Shepherd.		
197.	Seaport: Embarkation of Æneas.		
198.	Seaport: Embarkation of St. Ursula.	*Claudio IVF Roma* 1677.	Duke of Cleveland.
199.	Landscape.		
200.	Marine view: Jonah and the Whale. (Same Landscape as No. 171.)	*Desigue faict pour Ill^mo e rev^me Sig^re Monsigneur di Bourlemont. l'ijstorie di Jonas J'en faict présent al Sig^r Don Bricna familier de Monsig^r Bosou.*	

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF PICTURES BY CLAUDE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS.

ENGLAND.

NATIONAL GALLERY—

Landscape: Cephalus and Procris. (L. v. 91.)
Seaport. 1644. (L. v. 43.)
Landscape: David at the Cave of Adullam. 1658. (L. v. 145.)
Landscape: Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca. 1648. (L. v. 113.)
Seaport: Embarkation of Queen of Sheba. 1648. (L. v. 114.)
Landscape: Narcissus and Echo. 1644. (L. v. 77.)
Seaport: Embarkation of S. Ursula. 1646. (L. v. 54.)
Landscape: Death of Procris. (L. v. 100.)
Landscape: The Annunciation. (L. v. 106.)
Seaport: Anchises and Æneas at Delos. 1673. (L. v. 179.)
Landscape: Goatherd and Goats.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE—

Marine View: Rape of Europa. 1667. (L. v. 136.)

SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM—

Landscape. 1670.

DULWICH GALLERY—

Landscape: Flight into Egypt.
Landscape: Jacob and Laban. (L. v. 188.)
Seaport: Embarkation of S. Paula. (L. v. 49 or 61.)

* Landscape: Vintage. (L. v. 58.)
* Seaport. (Smith, 306.)
* Landscape: Campo Vaccino. (L. v. 10.) Copy or replica of Louvre picture.
Landscape (doubtful).

HAMPTON COURT PALACE—
Seaport. (L. v. 5.) Copy.

WINDSOR CASTLE—
Landscape: The Ford. (L. v. 83.)
Landscape: View of Tivoli. (L. v. &c.,
Seaport. (Smith, 318.)
Seaport.
Landscape: Claude sketching. (Smith, 315.)

LORD ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR (Wardour Castle)—
Landscape (circular).

MR. W. ANGERSTEIN—
Seaport. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1881.

LORD ASHBURTON—
Landscape with Wooden Bridge. (L. v. 52.)
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. (L. v. 158.)

MR. T. BARING—
Landscape. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1871.

LORD BATEMAN—
Landscape: Nymph and Satyr Dancing. (L. v. 55.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1881.

DUKE OF BEAUFORT (Badminton)—
Landscape: The Temptation. (Smith, 326.)
Landscape: The Journey to Emmaus. (Smith, 327.)

MR. W. B. BEAUMONT—
Landscape: Philip baptizing the Eunuch. (L. v. 191.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1884.

DUKE OF BEDFORD—
Landscape: Rustic Concert. (L. v. 53.)
Landscape: Bridge and Castle of S. Angelo (doubtful).

* In the latest edition of the Dulwich Gallery Catalogue, these three pictures are not assigned to Claude by Dr. Richter and Mr. Sparkes. They are included amongst the anonymous works.

MR. R. C. L. BEVAN—
Landscape. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1885.

MR. A. BUCKLEY—
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. (L. v. 104.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1882.

DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH—
Landscape: Judgment of Paris. (L. v. 94, or Smith, 336.)
Landscape: Philip and the Eunuch.
Seaport. (Smith, 337.)

MARQUIS OF BUTE—
Landscape.
Seaport. (L. v. 31.)

EARL OF CARLISLE (Castle Howard)—
Two Landscapes.

LORD CARYSFORT—
Landscape. (Smith, 329.)

LORD CATHCART (Thornton-le-Street Hall)—
Landscape: The Campo Vaccino. (L. v. 1.)

DUKE OF CLEVELAND (Raby Castle)—
Seaport: Embarkation of Queen of Sheba. (L. v. 198.)

EARL OF COVENTRY (Croome Court)—
Landscape.

EARL OF DARTMOUTH—
Landscape, oval: The Dancing Dog. (Smith, 322.) Exhibited at Manchester, 1857; at Leeds, 1868; and at Royal Academy, 1879.

CAPT. A. F. DAWSON—
Seaport. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1879.
Landscape. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1879.

EARL OF DERBY (Knowsley Hall)—
Landscape. (Smith, 416.)

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE—
Landscape: Apollo and the Muses. (L. v. 126.)
Landscape: Mercury and Battus. (L. v. 159.)

Landscape: Flight into Egypt. (L. v. 88.)
Landscape: Mercury and Battus. (L. v. 131.)
Landscape: Mercury and Battus. (L. v. 128.)

EARL OF ELLESMERE (Bridgewater House)—
Landscape. (L. v. 101.)
Landscape: Metamorphosis of the Apulian Shepherd. 1657. (L. v. 142.)
Landscape: Moses and the Burning Bush. (L. v. 161.)
Marine View: Demosthenes on the Seashore. (L. v. 171.)

MARQUIS OF EXETER (Burghley House)—
Landscape: Venus and Adonis.
Two other Landscapes.

EARL OF FEVERSHAM (Duncombe Park)—
Two Landscapes. Exhibited at Leeds, 1868.

EARL FITZWILLIAM (Wentworth House)—
Two Landscapes.

MR. HARCOURT (Nuneham Courtney)—
Landscape.

LORD HEYTESBURY (Heytesbury House)—
Two small Landscapes.

MR. R. S. HOLFORD (Dorchester House, London)—
Landscape. (L. v. 25.)
Landscape: The Sacrifice. (L. v. 78.)

EARL OF HOPETOUN (Hopetoun House)—
Seaport: Embarkation of Queen of Sheba.

MRS. MEYNELL INGRAM (Temple Newsam)—
Landscape.

EARL OF JERSEY—
Landscape.
Landscape: Juno, Argus, and Io. 1656.

MR. J. KNOWLES—
Landscape. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1885.

MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE—
Marine View: Abduction of Helen. (L. v. 132.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1876.
Seaport. (Smith, 343.)

EARL OF LECONFIELD (Petworth House)—
Landscape. (L. v. 67.)
Seaport.
Landscape: Jacob and Laban. (L. v. 134.)
Landscape. (Smith, 397.)

EARL OF LEICESTER (Holkham)—
Landscape: Argus and Io. (L. v. 86.)
Landscape: Apollo and Marsyas. (L. v. 95.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1879.
Landscape: Mercury and Cattle of Admetus. (L. v. 135.)
Marine View: Apollo and the Cumæan Sibyl. (L. v. 164.)
Landscape: Perseus. (L. v. 184.)
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. (L. v. 187.)
Seaport: Claude Drawing. (Smith, 404.)
Landscape: Erminia and the Shepherd.
Landscape: Claude Drawing.
Two other pictures.

LORD METHUEN (Corsham House)—
Landscape: S. John in the Desert. 1647. (L. v. 97.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1877.

MR. MORRISON—
Landscape: Worship of the Golden Calf. (L. v. 148.)
Marine View: Rape of Europa. (L. v. 144.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1879.

LORD MOUNT-TEMPLE—
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1884.
Seaport. (L. v. 2.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1884.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE (Clumber)—
Two Landscapes.

EARL OF NORTHBROOK—
Landscape. (L. v. 87.)
Landscape: Jacob and Laban. (L. v. 147.)
Marine View: Claude Sketching. (L. v. 44.)
Landscape.
Landscape. (L. v. 172.)
Landscape: Mill on the Tiber. (L. v. 123.)
Landscape: Æneas Hunting the Stag. (Smith, 293.)

EARL OF NORMANTON (Somerley)—
Seaport: S. Ursula.
Two Landscapes.

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND (Alnwick)—
Seaport. (L. v. 14.)

EARL OF PEMBROKE (Wilton House)—
Landscape.

EARL OF PORTARLINGTON—
Seaport: Embarkation of S. Paula. (L. v. 49 or 61.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1882.

DUKE OF PORTLAND (Welbeck Abbey)—
Landscape. (L. v. 18.)

MR. J. PRITCHARD—
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1885.

EARL OF RADNOR (Longford Castle)—
Seaport: Rise of the Roman Empire. (L. v. 122.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1873.
Landscape: Decline of the Roman Empire. (L. v. 82.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1873.

MR. H. REEVE, C.B.—
Landscape: View near Rome. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1875.

MARQUIS OF RIPON—
Two Landscapes.

MR. A. J. ROBARTS—
Marine View: Trojan Women burning the Ships. (L. v. 71.)

MR. WATTS RUSSELL (Ilam Hall)—
Landscape. Exhibited at Leeds, 1868.

DUKE OF RUTLAND (Belvoir Castle)—
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. (L. v. 158.)
Marine View: Apollo and the Cumæan Sibyl. (L. v. 164.)
Landscape: Hagar, Ishmael, and the Angel. (L. v. 174.)
Two Landscapes.

LORD SAYE AND SELE—
Landscape. (Smith, 398.)

LORD SCARSDALE (Keddleston Hall)—
Landscape: View on the Tiber.

EARL SPENCER (Althorp)—
Seaport.
Landscape.

REV. T. STANIFORTH—
Landscape: A Ford. (L. v. 103.)

SIR J. STIRLING-MAXWELL (Keir)—
Landscape: The Journey to Emmaus.

EARL OF SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE (Charlton Park)—
Two small Landscapes.

DUKE OF SUTHERLAND (Stafford House)—
Landscape.

MR. J. CHAPMAN WALKER—
Landscape: The Piping Herdsman. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1882.

SIR R. WALLACE—
Landscape.
Marine View.

LORD WANTAGE—
Landscape: The Enchanted Castle, or Psyche. (L. v. 162.)

DUKE OF WELLINGTON (Apsley House)—
Seaport: Embarkation of S. Paula. (L. v. 49 or 61, or Smith, 422.)
Two Landscapes.

EARL OF WEMYSS (Gosford House)—
Landscape.

DUKE OF WESTMINSTER (Grosvenor House)—
Landscape: Claude Sketching. 1651. (L. v. 115.)
Landscape. 1651. (Smith, 301.)
Landscape: The Rise of the Roman Empire. (L. v. 124.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1870.
Landscape: The Decline of the Roman Empire. (L. v. 153.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1870.

Landscape: The Worship of the Golden Calf. 1653. (L. v. 129.) *Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1871.
Landscape: The Sermon on the Mount. (L. v. 138.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1871.
Landscape: Isaac and Rebecca. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1871.
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. Octagonal. (Smith, 313.)
Landscape: Bridge with Eight Arches. (Smith, 314.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1871.
Landscape: Rustic Dance.

MR. R. WILLIAMS—
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. 1662. (L. v. 158.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1879.

MR. ROWLAND WINN (Nostell Priory)—
Landscape: Flight into Egypt.

EARL OF YARBOROUGH—
Landscape: Rustic Dance. Dated 1669. (L. v. 13.)
Landscape: Hagar, Ishmael, and the Angel. (L. v. 133.) Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1875.
Seaport. (L. v. 5.)

FRANCE.

LOUVRE, PARIS—
Seaport. (L. v. 9.)
Landscape: The Campo Vaccino. (L. v. 10.)
Landscape: Rustic Dance. 1639. (L. v. 13.)
Seaport. 1639. (L. v. 14.)
Landscape: Samuel anointing David. 1647. (L. v. 69.)
Seaport. 1646. (L. v. 96.)
Seaport. (L. v. 120.)
Seaport. (Smith, 307.)
Landscape, oval. (Smith, 311.)
Landscape. (Smith, 394.)
Landscape: The Ford. (L. v. 117.)
Seaport.
Landscape: Siege of La Rochelle.
Landscape: Forcing the Pass of Susa. 1651.
Seaport: Disembarkation of Cleopatra at Tarsus. (L. v. 63.
Seaport: Ulysses restoring Chryseis. (L. v. 80.)

BORDEAUX MUSEUM—
Landscape (from Lacaze collection).

EPINAL MUSEUM—
Landscape. (Variation of a Louvre picture.)

GRENOBLE MUSEUM
Seaport. (L. v. 17.)
Landscape: View of Tivoli. (L. v. 79.)

RENNES MUSEUM—
Landscape.
Landscape: Flight into Egypt (doubtful).

TARBES MUSEUM—
Landscape: Village Fête.

BELGIUM.

BRUSSELS MUSEUM—
Landscape: Æneas Hunting the Stag. (L. v. 180.)

TOURNAI MUSEUM—
Two Landscapes.

M. WUYTS (Antwerp)—
Landscape (doubtful).

HOLLAND.

THE HAGUE MUSEUM—
Landscape (from Chateau de Loo).

SPAIN.

MADRID: ROYAL MUSEUM—
Landscape: Burial of Sta. Sabina. (L. v. 48.)
Landscape: The Finding of Moses. (L. v. 47.)
Seaport: Embarkation of S. Paula. (L. v. 49.)
Landscape: Tobit and the Archangel Raphael. (L. v. 50.)
Landscape: Hermit in Prayer.
Landscape: The Penitent Magdalen. (Smith, 396.)
Landscape: Temptation of S. Anthony. (L. v. 32.)
Landscape: The Ford.
Two Landscapes.

ITALY.

FLORENCE: UFFIZI—

Seaport. (L. v. 28.)
Landscape. 1672.

MODENA: GALLERIA ESTENSE—

Landscape.

NAPLES: ROYAL MUSEUM—

Landscape: Diana Reposing, or Egeria. (L. v. 175.)
Seaport.

ROME: ACADEMY OF S. LUKE—

Seaport.

ROME: DORIA PALACE—

Landscape: Flight into Egypt. (Smith, 334.)
Landscape: Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, "Il Molino." (L. v. 113.)
Landscape: Sacrifice to Apollo. (L. v. 119.)
Landscape: Mercury Stealing the Cattle of Admetus. (L. v. 92.)
Landscape: Cephalus and Procris, or Diana Hunting. (L. v. 163.)

ROME: BARBERINI PALACE—

Landscape (doubtful).
Landscape: Castel Gandolfo and Lake Albano. (L. v. 35.)
Landscape: Acqua Acetosa, and the Valley of the Tiber (doubtful).
Marine view.

ROME: COLONNA GALLERY—

Landscape.

ROME: CORSINI PALACE—

Landscape.

ROME: ROSPIGLIOSI PALACE—

Landscape: Temple of Venus. (L. v. 178.)

ROME: SCIARRA GALLERY—

Landscape: Flight into Egypt.
Landscape.
Two Landscapes. (Early style.)

TURIN: PALAZZO REALE—

Landscape. (Variation of L. v. 101.)
Landscape.

GERMANY.

AUGSBURG: MUSEUM—
Landscape.

BERLIN: ROYAL MUSEUM—
Landscape: Mercury and Aglauros. 1642. (L. v. 64.)

DRESDEN: ROYAL GALLERY—
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. 1667. (L. v. 110.)
Landscape: Polyphemus, Acis, and Galatea. (L. v. 141.)

GOTHA: GALLERY—
Marine View.

INNSPRUCK: MUSEUM—
Landscape: Diana.
Landscape.

LEIPSIC: SPECK STERNBURG GALLERY—
Landscape.

MECKLENBURG: LUDWIGSLUST—
Two Landscapes.

MUNICH: PINAKOTHEK—
Landscape: Expulsion of Hagar. 1668. (L. v. 173.)
Landscape: The Angel appearing to Hagar. (L. v. 174.)
Seaport. (L. v. 5.)
Landscape: The Ford. 1676. (L. v. 176.)
Landscape: Stag-hunt (doubtful).
Landscape (doubtful).

PESTH: GALLERY—
Landscape. (L. v. 107.)

STRASBURG: MUSEUM—
Landscape: Venus.

STUTGART: GALLERY—
Two Landscapes.

VIENNA: ACADEMY—
Two Landscapes.

VIENNA: ARCHDUKE ALBRECHT'S COLLECTION—

Landscape: Flight into Egypt.

VIENNA: COUNT CZERNIN'S COLLECTION—

Landscape: S. John Preaching.

VIENNA: COUNT HARRACH'S COLLECTION—

Seaport.
Two Landscapes.

DENMARK.

COPENHAGEN: CHRISTIANSBORG—

Landscape.

SWEDEN.

STOCKHOLM: ROYAL MUSEUM—

Landscape, with Arch of Constantine and Coliseum.
Landscape.

RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG: HERMITAGE PALACE—

Landscape: Jacob and Rachel. "Morning." 1655. (L. v. 169.)
Landscape: Flight into Egypt. "Noon." 1654. (L. v. 154.)
Landscape: Tobit and the Angel. "Evening." (L. v. 160.)
Landscape: Jacob Wrestling with the Angel. "Night." (L. v. 181.)
Landscape: Apollo and the Cumæan Sybil. (L. v. 99.)
Landscape: The Journey to Emmaus. (L. v. 151.)
Landscape: Apollo and Marsyas. (L. v. 45.)
Seaport. (Smith, 305.)
Landscape: The Piping Shepherdess. (Smith, 302.)
Seaport: Man Angling and Ship with French flag. (Smith, 303.)
Seaport: Ulysses visiting Lycomedes. (Smith, 304.)
Seaport. (L. v. 5.)

PRINCE ISSOUPOFF—

Marine View: Rape of Europa. (L. v. 136.)
Landscape: Fight on a Bridge. (L. v. 137.)

M. TATISCHTCHEFF—

Landscape.

AMERICA.

VANDERBILT COLLECTION—

Seaport. (L. v. 2.)

Landscape: Sacrifice to Apollo. 1668. (L. v. 157.)

Landscape: Landing of Æneas in Italy. 1675. (L. v. 185.) Exhibited at Royal Academy in 1871.

Landscape: A Ford. (L. v. 176.)

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF CLAUDE'S ETCHINGS.

The numbers given in Robert Dumesnil's 'Peintre-Graveur Français' have been retained in the following list, as well as the title which he has assigned to each etching.

Number.	Description.	Number of known states of the etching.	Inscription on the etching.	Number of corresponding drawing in *Liber Veritatis*.
1.	Flight into Egypt.	Two.	CLAV.	
2.	The Apparition.	Three.	CL. G.	
3.	Crossing the Ford.	Three.	CLAVD. GILLE 1634.	
4.	Herd at a Watering Place.	Two.	CLAV. *fecc* 1635.	
5.	The Tempest.	Five.	CLAVD. GELLE I.V.F. ROMÆ 1630 (1st state). *Claude Gellée in. et fec.* (2nd & 3rd states.) *Cl. Inu.* (4th & 5th states.)	
6.	Dance by the Side of the Water.	Four.	CLA. IV. (1st & 2nd states.) CL. (3rd & 4th states.)	
7.	The Shipwreck.	Four.		33.

Number.	Description.	Number of known states of the etching.	Inscription on the etching.	Number of corresponding drawing in *Liber Veritatis*.
8.	The Herdsman.	Four.	*Claudius in. et f. Roma* 1636. (2nd, 3rd, & 4th states.)	85 and 176.
9.	The Sketcher.	Four.		44.
10.	Dance under the Trees.	Four.		
11.	Seaport with Beacon.	Four.		
12.	Brigands.	Seven.	CLAVD. IN. ROMÆ. 1633. (1st state.) *Claudius in. sup. P.* (4th state.)	
13.	Seaport with large Tower.	Five.		17.
14.	The Wooden Bridge.	Four.		52.
15.	The Sun Rising.	Six.	CLA. (1st & 2nd states.) *Claudius Claudius inv. et F. Romæ sup. licentia.* (3rd, 4th, & 6th states.) *Claudius . Claudius inv. et F. Romæ sup. licentia.* 1634. (5th state.)	5.
16.	Departure for the Fields.	Three.		20.
17.	Mercury and Argus.	Three.	*Claudio Gillée inuen. in Roma* 1662 *con licenza de superiori.*	150.
18.	Flock in Stormy Weather.	Four.	*Claudius Gellée fecit Romæ* 1651. (2nd, 3rd, & 4th states.)	
19.	The Goat-herd.	Two.	1663. . . . *A. G.* (2nd state.)	

Number.	Description.	Number of known states of the etching.	Inscription on the etching.	Number of corresponding drawing in *Liber Veritatis.*
20.	Time, Apollo, and the Seasons.	Three.	*Apollo in atto di obedire al tempo. La Primauera a cominciare il ballo. Lestate non manca del suo calore. Lautunno col suo licuore seguita. L'inuerno tiene la sua Staggione. Claudio Gillée inuen. Fec. Roma,* 1662, *con licenza de super.* (2nd & 3rd states.)	
21.	Shepherd and Shepherdess Talking	Five.	*Cl. G. Inu. et F.* (3rd. state.) *Cl. G. Inu. et F. con licenza de sup.* (4th & 5th states.)	
22.	The Rape of Europa.	Four.	CLAVDIO GILLE INV. F. ROMÆ. 1634.	111 136, 144
23.	The Campo Vaccino.	Six.	CLAVDIO 1636 ROM. (on a fragment of a column) has been erased, but can still be traced. *Claudius G. in et F. Roma* 1637, *sup. licentia.* (2nd state.) In the 3rd state the inscription of the 2nd state still appears, with the addition of "CL. I" in lower left-hand corner. In the 4th state the inscription of the 2nd state partially erased. *Via sacra detto Campo Vacino di Roma superior. licentia* 1636. *Claude Gellée inuent. et sculp.* (5th & 6th states.)	10.

Number.	Description.	Number of known states of the etching.	Inscription on the etching.	Number of corresponding drawing in *Liber Veritatis*.
24.	Rustic Dance.	Three.	CL.	A picture corresponding to this etching belongs to the Duke of Westminster.
25.	Herdsman and Shepherdess.	Two.	CLAVDIO GILLÉE INV.	
26.	Three Goats. (These were originally one plate.)		CLAV. IN. F.	
27.	Four Goats. (These were originally one plate.)			

ETCHINGS OF THE FIREWORKS.

28.	Neptune with Marine Monsters attached to his chariot.	Two.	LI FUOCHI DELL' ECC^MO SIG^R MARCHESE DI CASTEL RODRIGO AMBASCIADORE DELLA MAESTA CATOLICA NELL' ELETTIONE DI FERDINANDO TERZO RE DE ROMANI FATTO IN ROMA DEL MESE DI FEBRAIO M.DC.XXXVII Romæ superior. licentia. Claudius.	
29.	The previous subject enlarged.	Two.		
30.	Atlas Supporting the World.	Two.	CL. (2nd state.)	
31.	Previous subject with globe rending.	Three.		
32.	Square Tower with Bastions and figures supporting the Crown.	Two.	CL. (2nd state.)	
33.	Previous subject with fireworks issuing from the tower.	One.		

Number.	Description.	Number of known states of the etching.	Inscription on the etching.	Number of corresponding drawing of *Liber Veritatis*.
34.	Previous subject with the fireworks more advanced.	One.	CL.	
35.	The square tower opening and discovering a round tower.	Two.		
36.	The round tower.	Two.		
37.	The round tower opening and discovering a statue of the King of the Romans.	Two.	CL.	
38.	Fall of the round tower, leaving the statue.	Two.		
39.	The statue on a pedestal.	Three.		
40.	The statue drawn by soldiers.	Two.	P. CL.	
41.	Study for "The Brigands" (No. 12).	One.		
42.	Two studies for landscapes in one plate.	One.	Cl. inv.	
43.	Study of seated woman.	One.		
44.	Arabesque.	One.	Claudio f.	

APPENDIX E.

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